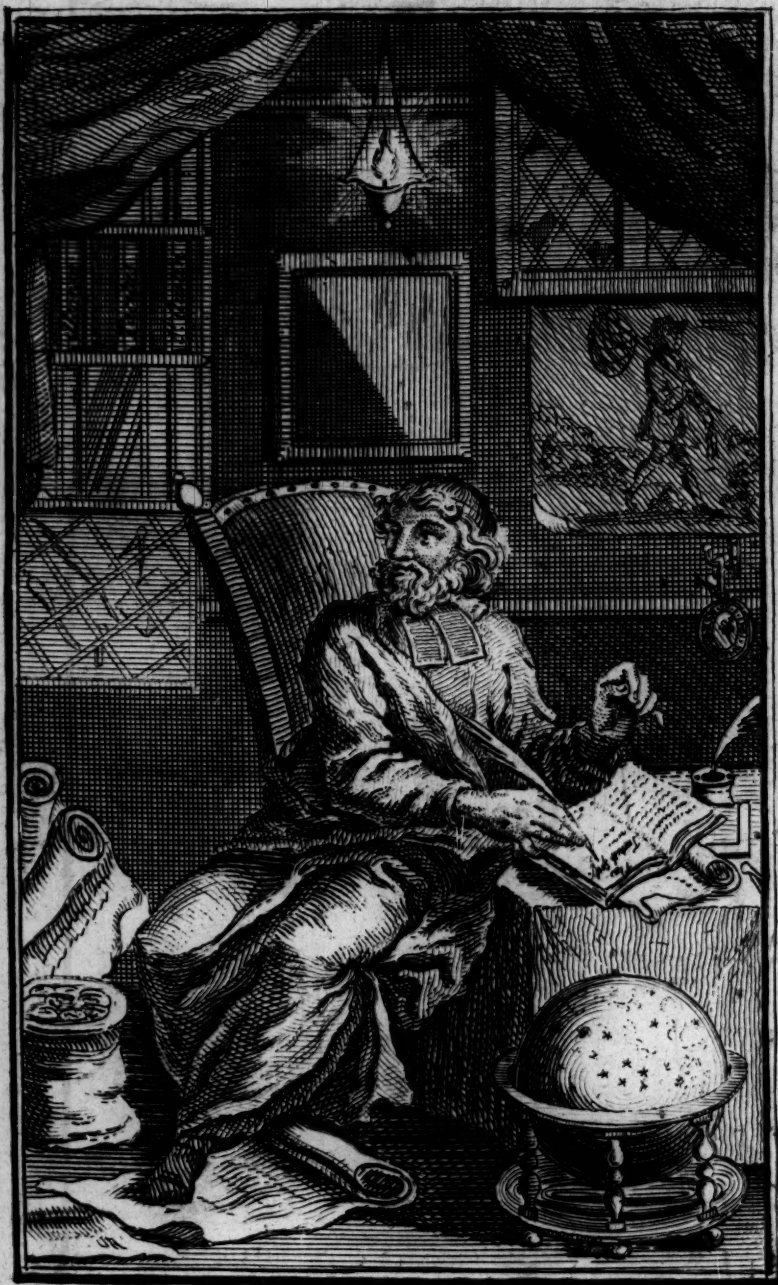
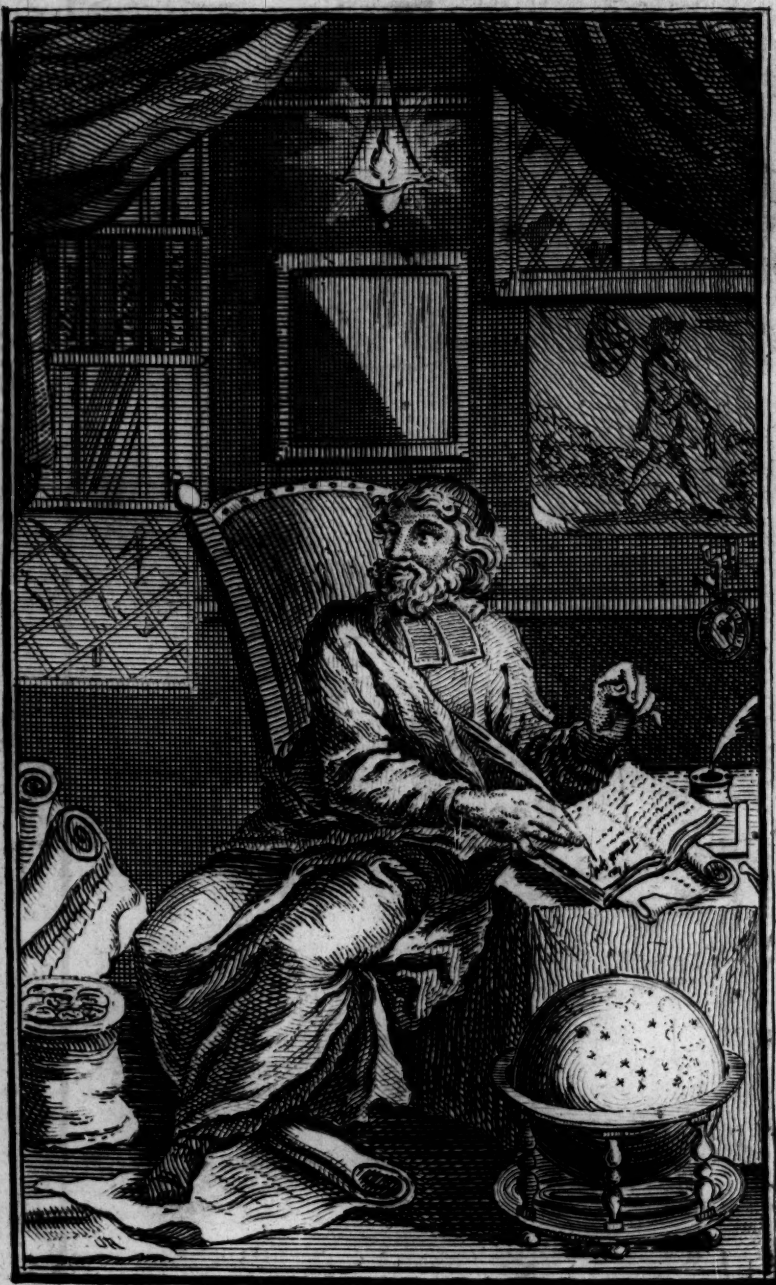




Mahmut the Turkish Spy. J. Basire Sculp.
Etatis Suae 72



Mahmut the Turkish Spy. J. Basire Sculp.
Etatis Suae 72

Muhammad the Turkish Spy, &c.

THE
EIGHT VOLUMES
OF
LETTERS

Writ by a

Turkish Spy,

Who Liv'd Five and Forty YEARS
Undiscover'd at

P A R I S:

Giving an Impartial ACCOUNT to the
Divan at Constantinople, of the most Remark-
able Transactions of *Europe*: And, Discov-
ering several *Intrigues* and *Secrets* of the
Christian Courts (especially of That of *France*)
Continued from the YEAR 1637, to the
Year 1682.

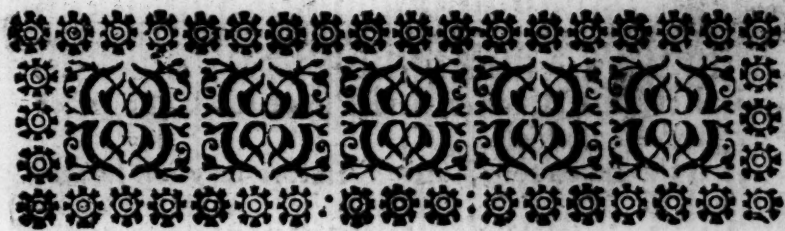
*Written, Originally, in Arabick, Translated into Ita-
lian, from thence into English: And Now Published
with a Large Historical Preface and Index, to
Illustrate the Whole. By the Translator of the
FIRST VOLUME.*

L O N D O N:

Printed by A. WILDE,

For S. and E. Ballard, J. Brotherton, W. Meadows,
T. Cox, R. Ware, J. Clarke, S. Birt, D. Browne,
T. Astley, J. Shuckburgh, J. Hodges, E. Wicksteed,
J. Oswald, J. Comyns, C. Bathurst, R. Baldwin,
A. Strahan, and A. Wilde. [1753.]





A GENERAL
PREFACE
To the WHOLE.



BESIDES the *PREFACES* already affix'd to each single *Volume* of these *Letters*, which contain particular Answers to the Objections and Cavils of some, with Solutions of the Scruples and Doubts made by others; as likewise Critical Explanations of Passages, seeming obscure to all, in the *English* Translation of our *SPY*: It is thought necessary to prefix something more, by Way of *General Preface*, not so much regarding the Translation, as the seeming Original Abruptness and Obscurity of our *Arabian* Author himself in some Places, with his frequent Change of Subjects, his Digressions, and Startings from Matter of Fact, the then present Wars, Transactions, and Intrigues, of *Christian* Courts, States, and Kingdoms, (for which he was chiefly sent

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to *Paris*, and his immethodical falling upon Philosophical, Divine, and Moral Contemplations, and even to ancient obsolete Histories, which some think altogether *Foreign* to his Business.

That the Ingenuous *Reader* therefore may not henceforward be left in the Dark, as to any Thing exhibited in the whole Series of these *Letters*; it will not be amiss to begin regularly at the *First Volume*, and say something of the Wars in which our *SPY* found several Nations of *Europe* engag'd, at his first coming to *Paris*; especially *France*, *Spain*, and the *Em-
pre.*

After the barbarous Regicide of *Henry the Great*, the Name, and Malice, of what they call the *Holy League*, seem'd to be quite extinguish'd; as if that deplorable Tragedy had fully satisfied the cruel and bitter Zeal of the Factious Catholics. *France* seem'd to enjoy a serene Quiet, and Halcyon-Days, from the Year 1610, to 1614; Fortune smiling on the Greener Years of *Lewis XIII.* as loth to disturb and ruffle the tender Passions of the *Royal Child*, with the harsh Sound of War, foreseeing that he would quickly have enough of that, even in his early Youth, before he could write Man, unless he had been a King.

During this Minority of his, the Guardianship of him, and the Regency of the Kingdom, were committed to the *Queen-Mother*, *Mary de Medicis*, Daughter to the *Great Duke of Tuscany*. This *Princess* had brought into *France*, a Favourite of hers, a *Florentine* by Birth and Extraction, whom she exalted afterwards to great Dignities, procuring him to be made a *Marshal* of the Kingdom, and to be invested with so exorbitant a Power at the Court, that the Princes of the *Blood*, with the other Grandees of *France*, began to look with an ill Eye on him, being quite disgusted at the too portentous Authority of a Stranger.

Therefore, in the Year 1614, they openly shew'd their Discontent, by taking up Arms, raising Seditious Tumults

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Tumults and Insurrections, which lasted till the Year 1616, at which Time the King was married to *Ann*, the Daughter of *Philip III.* King of *Spain*, whilst an interchangeable Match was made between the young *Prince of Spain*, Son to the said *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Lewis XIII.* Thus, these Two Potent *Monarchs* bound themselves to each other, (as the World judg'd,) in stricter Obligations of Peace and Friendship, by the Sacred Bonds of Matrimony, and a reciprocal Union of their Blood. Which was also accompanied with the Blessing of an Universal Domestick Tranquility, and Cessation from Civil Broils in *France*; *Henry de Bourbon*, Prince of *Conde*, and the rest of the Confederate *Princes*, being reconcil'd, in all outward Appearance, to the King their *Sovereign*. But, on a sudden, new Jealousies arising, about the Beginning of September 1616, the *Prince of Conde* was seiz'd and clapp'd up, and Declarations of War publish'd against the *Princes*, his Confederates. Yet all this was hush'd up again, and a Peace made the following Year, upon the Death of the *Marshal d'Ancre*, the before-mention'd *Florentine*, and Favourite of the *Queen*, who was kill'd in the *Louvre*, by the King's own Command; in that, when they wers going to arrest him, he offer'd to draw his Sword in his Defence.

The Fall of this *Italian*, seem'd now to pacify all Mal-contents. But the *Queen* taking it to Heart, retir'd from the Court. Which gave Occasion to the King to assume the Publick Administration of the Government into his own Hands. And a while after, he releas'd the *Prince of Conde* from his Confinement.

Much about the same Time, there broke forth Civil Wars among the *Grisons*, upon the Account of Religion. For, the *Catholicks* and *Protestants* continually vexed one another with mutual Injuries; and engaged the *Kings of France and Spain* in their Quarrel: So that the Arms of these Two Kingdoms were employ'd against each other on a Foreign Account, for many Years.

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In the mean while, The Duke of Luines succeeding the Marshal d'Acres in the Prime Ministry of France; the Princes and Nobles conceiv'd as great a Dislike and Hatred of his Power at the Court, as they had before done of the others. So that, in short, they took up Arms also, and gave the King no small Trouble, who was at the same Time molested by the Factious Attempts of the Queen-Mother's Party. But, by the Assistance and Counsel of the Prince of Conde, who now prov'd faithful and serviceable to him, he suppress'd all his Domestick Enemies, and restor'd Quietness in France; the Queen-Mother also, and her Party, being reconcil'd to him.

Things remained in this Posture, till the Duke of Rohan, and his Brother Monsieur Soubize, rais'd new Commotions in the Kingdom. The Rockellers, at the same Time, took up Arms in Defence of their Religion, and call'd in the English to their Assistance; who sent a Navy of an hundred and twenty Ships, under the Command of the Duke of Buckingham; but, all to no Effect. For, though the English landed in the Isle of Rhee, after many sharp Conflicts, yet they were soon expell'd again, and a long Siege laid to Rochel, under the Conduct of Cardinal Richlieu, and the Marshal de Schomberg, who reduc'd that City to the King's Obedience, raz'd the Walls, and left it as open as a Village, that it might be a Terror and Example to others; teaching them, rather to confide in the Clemency and Faith of their Sovereign, than to try the Force of his Arms. This was done in the Year 1628. From which Time, the Rebels, as it were by Strife, return'd to their Duty, seeking who should be most forward in testifying their Obedience to the King, and their Repentance for what was past. Thus was Peace once more restor'd to France at Home; that the King might have the more Leisure to prosecute the War in Italy: Whither he led his Victorious Army, taking many Towns in his Way to Casal, which he hasten'd to relieve, it being at this Time besieged by Spinola,
the

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the *Spanish General*. In a Word: He came within Sight of the very Walls, and so near to the *Spaniards*, that both Armies were ready to engage, when *Mazarini* (afterwards made Cardinal) ran between, and induc'd them to Terms of Peace.

A while after this, A Peace was concluded between the *Emperor* and the *Duke of Mantua*; the latter having the Possession of *Mantua*, *Montserrat*, and other Places, confirm'd to him by an Imperial Decree. But as if Fate had ordain'd, That the Arms of *France* should not rust, or be long idle, but that they should be constantly kept in Exercise, by equal Vicissitudes of Foreign and Domestick Wars, no sooner was this Peace concluded, which gave some Respite to the *French* Abroad, when new Stirs arose at Home; occasioned, first, through some Mis-understandings between the *Queen-Mother* and *Cardinal Richlieu*, which afterwards were improv'd into open Hatred and Enmity; the *Queen-Mother* having drawn into her Party the *Duke of Orleans*, Brother to the King; a Man who had conceived an irreconcilable Aversion for that *Potent Minister*. Till at length, Things coming to an inevitable Rupture at the Court, the *Queen-Mother* fled privately into *Flanders*, and the *Duke of Orleans* into *Lorraine*; from whence, he afterwards followed her into *Flanders* also.

The next Year, He rush'd into *Dauphiny* with a confused Army, and the *Duke of Montmorency* came over to his Side. Who, being Governor of that Province, brought great Forces with him, and gave new Courage to the Invaders. Insomuch, as they enter'd Battle with the *Mareschal de Schomberg*, General of the King's Army. The Fight was short and bloody, wherein the Rebels were routed, having lost many of their principal Leaders on the Spot; whilst the *Duke of Montmorency* was taken Prisoner, and afterwards Beheaded, by Sentence of the Parliament. This concluded the Year 1632. But the *Duke of Orleans* did not return to his Duty, till the Year 1634. From which Time, the

Kingdom of *France* was still by various Turns kept in active Posture, either of Defence, or Offence ; partly, by Domestick Factions, and partly, by Foreign Engagements of Allies or Enemies, even to the Time of the *Turkish SPY's* Arrival at *Paris*, which was in the Year 1637.

I pass over these Three last Years, before his coming to *Paris*, with the more Brevity, that there may be Room to say something of the other Wars in which *Europe* had all along been equally engaged, from the Murther of *Henry IV.* or thereabouts, to the same Year 1637 ; and this shall be done as concisely as may be, that so the Reader may have the clearer *Idea* and Understanding of what our *SPY* entertains him with, in the Course of his *First Letters*, to the Year 1643, when *Lewis XIV.* the present King of *France*, began his Reign. Whose Life and Actions, gave an immediate Turn to all Affairs, both in his own Dominions, and the other Nations of *Europe*.

In the Year 1610, the Town of *Gulick*, in the *Netherlands*, was surrendred to Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, after many Princes had claim'd it, upon the Death of Duke *John William*, who left no Heirs of his Body : And Prince *Maurice* himself was oblig'd to the *French* for their Aid in obtaining it. About the same Time, the *Moors* were expell'd out of *Spain*, to the Number of Nine Hundred Thousand. Of which our *SPY* takes Notice in some of his *Letters*.

In the Year 1611, *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, took *Smolensko*, a very strong Town of the *Muscovites*, after Two Years Siege. Whose Son *Uladislaus*, the *Muscovites* chose for their Duke or Czar. of which repenting in a little Time, there broke forth a Bloody War in those Parts.

The same Year died *Charles*, the King of *Swedeland*, being succeeded by his Son *Gustavus* ; though, some endeavour'd to transfer the Crown to *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*.

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In the Year 1612 died *Rodolph*, Emperor of *Germany*, who was succeeded by *Matthias* his Brother. A while after this, the *Venetians* made War upon *Ferdinand*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Son of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, who was Brother to the Emperor *Maximilian II*. This War lasted to the Year 1618, at which Time it was finish'd.

In the mean while, the War between the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Savoy*, broke forth, about the Principality of *Montferrat*. It was occasion'd by the Death of *Francis*, Duke of *Mantua*, who leaving no Male Issue behind him, Cardinal *Ferdinand*, his Brother, under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, took Possession of that Principality, which he defended by Arms, against *Charles Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*. This War also lasted to the Year 1618, at which Time it was ended, by the powerful Intervention of the *French King*.

About this Time, there broke out a most cruel War in *Germany*, on this Occasion. *Ferdinand*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and King of *Bohemia*, received also from the Emperor *Matthias* the Kingdom of *Hungary* on certain Conditions. Which Conditions seeming disadvantageous to the Protestants, they made an Insurrection, first, at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, where they kill'd the Magistrates, and then they were soon follow'd by all *Bohemia*, and the adjoining Provinces, who took up Arms against the King, under the Conduct of *Ernest Mansfelt*, and other Grandees.

In the Year 1619, *Matthias* the Emperor died, whom *Ferdinand*, the aforefaid King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* succeeding, prosecuted the War very vigorously against the Rebels. In the mean while they chose for King of *Bohemia*, *Frederick*, Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, who had married the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *James I*. King of *England*. He, with his new Queen, were the same Year solemnly crown'd at *Prague*: And the Year following, their Forces being routed by the Emperor, they themselves were forced to flee into *Holland*, where they

they led a private Life ever afterwards. In the mean while *Bohemia*, with the other revolting Provinces, return'd to their Obedience. And this was thought to be a leading Card to the Religious War, which about the same Time was rais'd among the *Grisons*; of which mention is made above. Nay, and the same is supposed to have had Influence on the Commotions rais'd by the *Hugonots* inhabiting the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, against whom *Lewis XII.* made a successful Expedition in the Year 1620, reducing the greatest Part of that Province to their Duty and Allegiance; tho' the following Year gave him some fresh Trouble, and the Loss of many great Nobles, among whom were the Duke of *Mayne*, Governor of *Guienne*; and the Duke of *Luines*, First Minister of State.

About the same Time, died Pope *Paul V.* being succeeded by *Gregory XV.* who sat in the Chair but two Years, and a few Months, when dying, he left it to *Urban III.*

In the Year 1624, *Breda* was besieg'd by *Spinola*, the Spanish General, and surrender'd in 1625. In the mean while, Count *Mansfelt* invested *Germany* with frequent Excursions, being got at the Head of a bold Army of *Freebooters*; but at length, he was defeated by *Tilly*, a brave and expert General on the Imperial Side. Then he was forced to flee for Sanctuary into *Transylvania*; and from thence, going to *Venice*, he died in the Year 1626.

All these Things our *SPY* glances at in his *Letters*, but with some Abruptness and Obscurity; which renders him scarcely intelligible in those Places, to such as know not the History. 'Tis for this Reason we are at the Pains of giving a compendious View of the Wars and Transactions in *Europe*, before his coming to *Paris*.

Therefore to proceed: *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, came out of his Territories in the Year 1630, and enter'd *Pomerania* with a mighty Army. From whence, and from all the adjacent Provinces, he drove the Imperialists. In the Year 1631, he enter'd the more inferior

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ferior Parts of the Empire, taking innumerable Towns, and filling all Places with Terror. And this he did, under Pretext of vindicating the Evangelicks, or Protestants. In vain did *Tilly*, the General of the Catholics, oppose him. All that he could do, was, to burn *Magdeburgh* to Ashes.

After which, the Protestant Princes held a Dyet or Assembly at *Leipsick*, where they enter'd into a Confederacy against the Emperor, joining their Forces with those of *Gustavus*. Against these, *Tilly* march'd with General *Papenheim*, and laid close Siege to *Leipsick*, which they were forc'd to surrender upon Conditions.

After this, The King of *Swedeland*, the Duke of *Saxony*, with the other Confederate Princes, took to the Field; and there was a terrible Fight between them and the Imperialists at *Leipsick*, whose Consequence proved fatal to the latter: For, *Tilly* having lost Ten Thousand of his Men, was forced to flee himself; whilst *Leipsick* fell into the Hands of the Duke of *Saxony*. His Victory open'd a clear Way for the King of *Swedeland* to over-run all *Germany*. So that, having taken *Wirtzberg*, he soon reduced all *Franconia* or *Frankenland*; after that, *Mentz*, with other Provinces, spreading like a Fire, or a Deluge of Water. In the mean while, the Duke of *Saxony* invaded *Bohemia*, and took *Prague*, the capital City of that Kingdom. In a Word: So general was the Consternation throughout the Empire, that some Princes, to divert the Storm which they saw hanging over their Heads, had recourse to the Protection of the King of *France*, who accordingly, by his Mediation, screen'd them from Violence, especially the Archbishop of *Triers*, or *Treves*.

In the Year 1632, The King of *Swedeland* pursued the Course of his Victories, ravaging, without Stop or Opposition, through *Alsatia*, *Bavaria*, and other Parts, still taking Towns and strong Holds, filling all Places also, with Ruin and Desolation. At length, passing the *Danube*, he routed *Tilly* once more, with all his Army,

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my, who died soon after of a Wound he receiv'd in the Battle.

Wallestein was streight substituted in his Place, who recover'd *Prague* in *Bohemia* from the *Saxons*. Then, after many Conflicts and Skirmishes, he encounter'd the King of *Swedeland* at *Lutzen*, a Town not far from *Leipfick*. This Battle prov'd fatal to *Gustavus*, for in it he lost his Life, and not long after him, General *Papenheim* on the German Side.

The same Year, *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, dying, his Son *Uladislaus* succeeded him in the Throne. The *Swedes* were not in the least discouraged from prosecuting the War by the Death of their King; but whereas before they fought for Conquest and Liberty, now they seem'd to fight for Revenge. *Christina*, the Daughter of *Gustavus Adolphus*, was soon set upon the Throne of *Sweden*. After this, there was a Dyet held at *Francfort*, consisting of *Swedes* and *Saxons*. Then there was another assembled at *Hailbrun*. And in the Year 1634, the States of *Saxony* met at *Helberstadt*, to consult about their own Safety. Much about the same Time, happened the Sieges of *Ratisbonne* and *Norlingen*. This Year was noted with Tragical Characters, on the Account of the great Desolation made in the Provinces lying on the *Rhine*, by War, Pestilence, and Famine: Where People were reduc'd to those Streights, as to feed on Human Flesh, and to do other Things, which will scarce Now seem Credible.*

The next Year 1635, seem'd to give a new Turn to the Affairs in *Germany*. For the Duke of *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Luxemburgh*, having had a Treaty at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, came over to the Emperor's Party. Yet the *Swedes* still pursu'd the War.

The Two following Years were Remarkable for the Election of *Ferdinand III.* who was chosen King of the *Romans* 1636, and succeeded his Father in the *Empire* 1637; as also for the Irruption made by *Galassio*, General of the German Forces into *France*:
Which

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Which was attended with various Events on both Sides; till at length, toward the end of 1637, *Galasso* return'd with his Army into the *Empire* again. The same Year before, there was a notable Sea-Fight between the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders*. Prince *Maurice* overcame the *Portuguese*, in *Brazil*, and took from them immense Riches. The Prince of *Orange* besieged *Breda*, and took it. The same Year died *Bolislau*, the last Duke of *Pomerania*. Much about the same Time, the *Pope* earnestly exhorted the Princes of *Europe* to establish a *General Peace*.

Such was the Face of Things in *Christendom*, when this *Turk* came first to *Paris*: And, it is evident, that the Scenes were often chang'd in the Course of those former Years which I have here recounted: And so they have been ever since; which was the true Reason of that Variety of Subjects, with which our Author abounds; in some *Letters* giving an Account of Battles, Sieges, and other Events of Campaigns; glossing also, and descanting on the good Conduct, or Oversight of great Generals; on the Valour of famous Captains; and, in general, on the Fortune of War. In others, he treats of Court-Intrigues, *Junto's* of Politicians, and subtle Proposals of Statesmen.

Again, When he writes to his intimate Friends, he either entertains them with melancholy Complaints of his long Absence from *Constantinople*, and his native Country; with the Inconveniencies, Miseries, Hazards, and Hardships, that attend it; or else, diverts them with some trifling Discourse, comical Story, or, something very Unusual, Surprizing, and Strange.

In the Time of *War*, He seems to be a curious Engrosser of the earliest and choicest News. In Time of *Peace*, He watches the Motions of Cardinal *Richieu*, *Mazarini*, *Olivarez*, and other great Ministers of State. For this End, he had his Agents about in every Corner of the Court of *France*, besides his Intelli-

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telligencers of *Vienna, Venice*, or some other City of *Europe*.

But give him Leave, sometimes, to lay aside the Cares, and busy Toils of Life. And wonder not, If he seem, in some of his *Letters*, very Melancholy ; in others, of a contrary Humour, Chearful and Frolicksome : For, these Unevennesses of Temper happen to every Man.

You shall hear him, sometimes, Wishing himself amongst the *Pyramids* of *Egypt*, confin'd and enclos'd within those antique Piles, a Companion of Ghosts and Devils, rather than lead the Life he did in *Paris*. When, at another Season, you shall find him all over Content, and Resignation itself, in the Abstract.

Besides, The Difference of his Years ought to be consider'd ; which, at the *Climacterical* Periods, are observ'd to alter Mens Spirits, as well as their Bodies. So that, 'tis no Wonder, if, in the Course of five and forty Years, which he pass'd away at *Paris*, both his Genius, and Conversation, may seem to vary at some critical Seasons through the natural Force of Time, and the Change of the Elements of which his Body was compounded ; as he himself, in his *Letters*, makes the same Apology.

Add to all this, His daily Improvements by Observation, Experience, Reading, Meditating, Converse, and habitual Engagements in the World. For which Reason alone, it would be unequal, to expect the same Method of Writing from him, either as to Sense or Style, Matter or Form, when he was but Thirty or Forty Years Old, as, when he was Threescore, or Threescore and Ten. Most of the famous Writers in the World, have not only chang'd the Opinions which they harbour'd in their greener Years, but, before they came to the Age of our *SPY*, some of them have publickly Recanted them, both with their Tongue and Pen. Neither is it a Shame to
any

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Any Man, so long as the old Axiom is true: *Humanum est errare*; at, *Errores feliciter retractare, verè Divinum.*

Neither could our SPY, considering his Education in the *Mahometan Religion*, take a properer Method in my Opinion, to disengage himself from the *Legends* of the *Nursery*, and the *Fables* of the *Schools*, (as a great Man calls our Infant *Ideas* of Things), than to follow the Counsel of his beloved *des Cartes*, the *French* Philosopher, whom he so much admired; and, who advises every one that would perfect his Reason, and arrive at the Knowledge of undisguised Truth, to shake off the Prepossessions and Prejudices of his Infancy and Youth; to wipe, brush, or sweep his Soul clean of the very Dust and Relicks left behind on our Faculties, by those first Foreign Invasions and Encroachments on our Minds. Having thus cleansed and polished the Soul, it becomes a pure *Tabula Rasa*, fit for the best, or worst Impressions. And here's the first Start of the *Free Will*: For, before this, a Man is a perfect Slave, driven up and down by every Spirit that blows strongest on him. Whereas, now, he begins to feel some Strength and Consistence in himself; being able to say, with interior and solid Reason, *Cogito ergo sum*. Fixing therefore on this Foundation, he builds a Fortress, or strong Hold; from whence he defies all the Attempts of open Enemies, or sly secret Interlopers; neither permitting himself to be debauched by the Prophaneness of *Libertines* and *Atheists*, nor by the ridiculous *Enthusiasms* of *Fanatics* and *Zealots*. This is the Course which our *Turk* seems to have taken with himself, when he once arrived to those Years wherein Men usually begin to examine the *Grounds* of *Religion*, and bring the *Documents* and *Traditions* of their *Fathers*, to the Test of Sense and Reason. 'Tis no Wonder, therefore, if in some *Letters* to his familiar and intimate Friends,

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Friends, he discourses of such Matters with more Freedom, than when he writes to the *Mufti*, the *Mufti's Vicar*, the *Preacher* of the *Seraglio*, or any of the *Grandeess*. Yet even to these he makes bold, sometimes, to propose Queries, and start Scruples; which plainly discover, That he was not fully satisfied in many Principles and Practices of the *Mahometans*.

On the other Hand, When he writes to the *Jew*, his Correspondent at *Vienna*, he endeavours to reclaim him from a too fond and implicit Confidence in the *Hebrew Rabbi's*, whom he calls *Religious Triflers*, ridiculing their *Fables*, and *vain Institutions*, and persuading his Friend not to be over-pious, but to attend the Affairs of his Employment with Alacrity, and to be Zealous in the *Grand Signior's* Service. He likewise frequently explodes the Vanity and Superstition of some sort of *Christians*, with some Tartness indeed, but free from all Ill-Nature and Bitterness, every where speaking honourably of *Christ Jesus*, our *Blessed Saviour*; only condemning the Vices and Errors of his *Followers*. Which last, is no more than what would become a *Christian Divine*; whose Duty it is, To reprove and correct whatsoever he sees amiss in those that profess the *Christian Faith*.

In general, He appears a Man void of Superstition and Bigottry. And, if he seems partial, or by-ass'd any ways, it is, in the Point of *Abstinence* from Flesh, and, The Doctrine of *Transmigration*. Whereby we may conclude, He was a *Pythagorean*; which is no new, or uncommon Thing, among the *Turks*, there being a particular *Set* of *Mahometans* wholly devoted to the Rules of that Philosopher; and 'tis well known, That *Pythagorism* is in great Reputation all over the *East*.

Hence we need not wonder that he appears so much enamour'd with the *Italian Gentiles*, who are
the

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the strictest Observers of Abstinence, and of the whole *Pythagorean* Discipline, of any People in the World, as all our modern Travellers can testify.

Though he cannot be called an Antiquary, yet he appears a great Lover of Antiquities, and no less an Admirer of new Discoveries, provided they be both of them Matters of Importance, and worth a wise Man's Regard. For it does not belong to either of these Characters, that a Man is a curious Collector of Medals, Images, Pictures, and a Thousand other insignificant Trifles, which can neither serve to illustrate *History*, regulate *Chronology*, nor adjust any momentous Difficulty in the *Records of Time*, but are only revered for their Rustiness, illegible Characters, and exotick Figure: Nor, that he is fond of every little Improvement in *Arts* or *Sciences*, which perhaps has no other Tendency than the Advantage of some particular *Trade* or *Profession* among Men, and serves only to divert the Mind from more solid Objects. Whereas our *Arabian* aspires at higher Things: He loves *Antiquities*, but 'tis only such as draw the Veil from off the *Infancy of Time*, and uncover the *Cradle* of the *World*. This makes him insist with so much Zeal and Passion, on the *Records* of the *Chinese* and *Indians*. He admires *New Discoveries*, but only such as shall either conduct us to the yet unknown Parts of the Earth, or present us with a truer, and more perfect *Scheme* of the *Heavens*, than what was before Extant; as may be seen by his Letters to *Osman Adrooneth, Astrologer* to the *Sultan*, Vol. VIII. Book IV. Page 268. and to *Abdelmelec Muli Omer, President* of the *College of Sciences* at *Fez*, Vol. VIII. Book IV. Page 336.

He often praises, and recommends the Reading of *History* to his Friends: And throughout the Course of these Letters, gives sufficient Proofs, that he is no Stranger to it. Which yet, need not be laid to his Charge,

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Charge, as if he affected to be thought a knowing Man; or that he spent his Time in Studies foreign to his Employment. For, he began to read *Histories*, as he himself declares, long before he came to *Paris*, as soon as he was released from his Captivity in *Palermo*, in *Sicily*, and had Access to the *Academies*. Which makes it no Wonder, that he should employ his vacant Hours in the *Libraries* of *Paris*, after he came thither; being a very inquisitive Man, and greedy of Knowledge. Besides, he was commanded by his *Superiors* thus to improve himself, and to transmit the *Abstracts* of what he read, to *Constantinople*: Which is a sufficient Excuse for all.

It only remains now, that we touch upon some Transactions of the *East*, as we have already done upon those in the *West*: That so the Reader, who, perhaps has not the Leisure to peruse the *Turkish History*, may the better understand some Passages in these *Letters* relating thereto.

Our *SPY* was born in the *Reign* of *Sultan Achmet*; during whose Life, he being but a Youth, it will be to no Purpose to recount what happened in those Parts, or between that *Monarch* and the *Christians*.

Achmet dying, was succeeded by *Mustapha* his Brother: Of whom our Author makes some Mention, as, Of his throwing Gold to the Fishes of the Sea, and, Of the Cruelty of *Sultan Amurath IV.* in causing him to be strangled. Indeed, he was a Prince, who made so small and contemptible a Figure in the World, that few *Historians* take any other Notice of him, than as a Man more fit for a *Convent*, than for a *Royal Palace*.

Therefore he being depos'd, and remanded to his former Prison, where he had spent his Youth, *Osman*, the Son of *Achmet*, was placed in the Throne of his Fathers. He renewed the ancient Leagues, which had been made between his Ancestors and several *Christian Princes*; wrote Letters to *James I.* King of England, and
Lewis

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Lewis XIII. King of *France*; aided the Emperor of *Germany* against the *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and other *Rebels*. But at length, entering into a War with *Poland*, his Army was beaten, from which Time his Affairs began to decline. And the next Year, giving out that he would make a *Pilgrimage* to *Mecha*, he was strangled by the *Janizaries*, who suspected that he design'd to abolish their Order, and alter the Constitution of the Empire.

Then *Mustapha* was taken out of his Prison again, and the second Time placed on the *Throne*: Who soon after experienc'd the Mutability of Fortune, in that he was again laid aside; and *Amurath*, the Brother of *Osman*, established in his Stead.

This *Amurath* was a very Warlike Prince, and esteemed the stoutest Man of his Age. He had not long sway'd the *Ottoman Scepter*, when the *Persians* came and besieged *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, which they took from the *Turks*. Then the *Cossacks*, with the Inhabitants of the *Ukrain*, gave him some Diversi-
on, making violent Incursions into the *Turkish* Territories, and laying all waste where-ever they came. However, the *Sultan* regarded the *Persian* War with most Concern. He sent an Army toward *Babylon*, in the Year 1626, who were defeated by the *Persians*; twenty Thousand *Turks* being killed on the Spot. This was revenged afterwards by the Slaughter of Thirty Thousand *Persians*. Then followed the Siege, or rather Blockade of *Babylon* by the *Turks*. A while after this, happened that dreadful Fire at *Constantinople*, which consumed a third Part of the City. Of which our *SPY* makes mention in some of his Letters; especially to his Friend *Dgnet Og-lou*, who had suffered great Losses in the Conflagration.

Not long after this, There was a Rebellion rais'd in the Holy Land, by *Facardine*, the brave and famous *Emir* of *Sidon*; with whom join'd some other discontented *Bassa's*

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Bassa's and *Beys* of *Egypt*. But *Amurath* sending powerful Forces against them, reduced them to their Duty. Afterwards enticing *Facardine* to *Constantinople*, the old *Emir* went accordingly with forty thousand Men at his Heels ; who encamped at a Distance from the City : But at length, trusting too much to *Sultan Amurath's* Allurements, and fair Promises, he ventured so far into the *Grand Signior's* Clutches, that he was strangled. This our *SPY* descants upon in several Letters.

Next follow'd, The Taking of *Ravan* by the *Persians*, which was accompanied by the Rebellion of the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*. At which Time there raged a destructive *Plogue* at *Constantinople*. In this Year our *SPY* came to *Paris*. Much about the same Time, the *Persians* routed the *Turks* before *Babylon*, and forced them to raise the Siege.

Amurath was enraged with these re-iterated ill Successes, that, collecting together a mighty Army, he led them in Person to the Walls of *Babylon*, and laid close Siege to that City, resolving never to return to *Constantinople*, till he had won that important Place : Which he accordingly did, with an infinite Slaughter of the *Persians*. Our *SPY* speaks much of this Siege, sometimes extolling the Bravery of *Schach Abbas*, King of the *Persians* ; at other Times, magnifying the Valour of *Amurath*.

The *Grand Signior* returning from this successful Campaign, enter'd *Constantinople* in Triumph ; and being puffed up with his Victories, gave the Reins to his Passion, committing a thousand Exorbitancies and Cruelties. At length he died of a *Fever*, which he got by excessive drinking of *Wine* and *Spirits*, to which he had much addicted himself.

Ibrahim, Brother to *Amurath*, succeeded in the Throne ; a Prince wholly given over to the Amours of Women. Yet he commenced that long and tedious War with the *Venetians*, which cost so much Money, and Blood on both Sides ; which lasted above twenty Years, and which was not ended till the Surrender of
Candia.

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Candia, the chief City of the Island bearing that Name, which consummated the *Conquest* of the whole *Isle*.

The Occasion of this War is related variously. Our *Histories* affirm, That it was begun on the Account of *Sultan Ibrahim's* Son being taken Captive by the *Knights of Malta*; who was afterwards educated in that *Island*, became a *Monk*, and for Distinction sake, in regard of his supposed Extraction, was called *Padre Ottomanno*, or *Ottoman Father*. Our *SPY* contradicts all this, and says, He was only the Son of a *Female Slave*, belonging to the *Serail*, there being no Account to be had of his Father.

Ibrahim being transported with an extravagant Lust after Women; and having debauch'd the *Mufti's* Daughter; the *Mufti*, with the *Grand Vizir*, and some other *Bassa's*, conspired against him, drawing his own Mother into the Plot. At length, he was seized, depos'd, and, after some Days Confinement, growing mad, he was strangled in his Prison, and his Son *Mahomet IV.* ascended the *Throne*; a *Prince* addicted more to Hunting, and the Pleasures of a Country-Life, than to War, or Love of Women. Whence it was, That he spent most of his *Summers* in some delightful Solitude, where the agreeable Shades of the Trees, the purling Streams, and Harmony of Birds, invited him, as to an earthly *Paradise*. Yet this hinder'd not the *Grand Vizir* from prosecuting the *Wars* in *Hungary*, *Dalmatia*, *Candia*, and elsewhere, as there was Occasion. Of all which Things, our *SPY* gives Hints in his Letters, according to their proper Seasons.

To draw towards a Conclusion. The Reader of these *Letters* may observe, That our *SPY* in some of them, makes mention of several *Papers* and *Journals* which came to his Hands; and of One which he wrote himself in the *Academies*, wherein is contained the *History*
of

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of his *Youth*, with the most memorable *Adventures* which befel him in *that Part* of his *Life*.

But among *Foreign Journals*, he seems to put the most Value on those of *Carcoa*, *Pesseli Hali* his Brother, and *Isouf* his Cousin. The first of these was a private Agent for the *Grand Signior* at *Vienna*, who lived some Years there after our *SPY* came to *Paris*, and held a strict Correspondence with him, by Order of the *Turkish Divan*, as appears by several *Letters* in the *First* and *Second Volumes*. But at length dying, his *Journal*, and other *Papers*, were sent by his *Successor* to our *SPY*, with a *Ring*, which *Carcoa* had bequeathed him as a *Legacy*, and *Token* of his inviolable *Friendship*, even to *Death*.

This *Journal*, as we may gather from some of our *SPY's Letters*, contains Copies of all the *Dispatches* which *Carcoa* sent to the *Ministers* of the *Port*, during his Residence at *Vienna*; with some of their *Letters* to him. In these, as we may farther collect, is couched a *History* of all the most Remarkable *Transactions* in *Europe*, with parallel Occurrences and Events in the *East*, from the Year 1600, or thereabouts, to the Year 1652, at which Time *Carcoa* died. Our *SPY*, besides other Commendations which he gives this *Journal* of *Carcoa*, particularly celebrates it in one of his last *Letters* to *Nathan Ben Saddi*, a *Jew* at *Vienna*. At the first Receipt of that *Journal*, he sent an Answer to *Nathan*, which begins thus: [*Thy Letter, with Carcoa's Journal, is come safe to my Han's, and the Ring which he bequeathed me, &c*] And a little after he says, [*His Memoirs will be of great Service to me; containing a more accurate History of the German Court, from the Year 1600, to the Time of his Death, than I have yet seen extant. I am not unacquainted with Relations of this kind, &c.*] Vol. II. Book I. Letter XXX. Page 107. But in the very last Letter he wrote to that *Jew*, he gives this *Journal* yet far higher *Encomiums*, praising the *Elegance* and *Succinctness* of the *Style*, the *Solidity* of the

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the Matter, and the great Usefulness as well as Delightfulness of both ; as may be seen more at large in *Vol. VIII. Book IV. Letter XVI. Page 350.*

The second *Journal* is that of *Peseli Hali*, Brother to our *SPY*, and a great Traveller in *Asia*. At his Return to *Constantinople*, he was made *Master* of the *Customs*, and *Superintendent* of the *Arsenal* there. His *Journal* contains an accurate Account of his *Travels* through *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, *China*, *Tartary*, *Georgia*, *Circassia*, *Mingrelia*, &c. with choice Remarks and Observations on the divers *Religions*, *Laws*, *Customs*, and *Forms* of *Government*, which he found among so many *People* of different *Nations* : As also several strange and pleasant Adventures that happen'd to him on the *Roads*, and in *Cities* ; the *Escapes* he made from *Robbers*, and his *Intrigues* with the *Persian* and *Indian* *Ladies*. All which our *SPY* professes he took great Delight to read. In a Word, according to the Character which he gives of this *Journal*, we may believe, that it contains many useful and pleasant *Memoirs*, in *History*, *Philosophy*, *Morality*, and the *Politics*.

As for the *Journal* of *Isouf*, his Cousin, we may conclude from several Letters in our *SPY*, that it deserves much the same Character : Only with this Advantage, That besides his *Travels* through All, or most of the forementioned Countries in the *East*, he adds an Account of his *Journies* through the *South*, having visited the chiefest Regions of *Africk*. And *Mahmut* appears particularly pleas'd with this last Part of his *Journal*, as containing Narratives of *Countries*, to which he was wholly then a Stranger. In a Word, upon the Reading of this *Journal*, he conceived so great an Affection for his Cousin *Isouf*, the Author of it, that he recommends him to his Brother *Peseli Hali*, and to one of the *Bassa's*, as a Man deserving the *Sultan's* Favour, and some Preferments suitable to his Abilities ; which may be a sufficient

a

Ground

xxvj *General PREFACE.*

Ground for us to believe, That this *Journal* was not stuffed with vain *Romontick* Fables, and empty Trifles; but that it had something in it Extraordinary and Illustrious.

If therefore the *Publisher* of these *Volumes*, who has been at great Expence and Pains in endeavouring to retrieve the said *Journals*, should ever be so happy as to succeed in his Attempt, he promises himself, That the *Publication* of the said *Journals*, will be a *Work* both Useful and Acceptable to the *World*.

The End of the PREFACE.



INTERPRETATION

Of some *Turkish* and *Arabick* Words,
which may seem *Obscure*, and *Unintelligible*,
either in these *LETTERS*, or in their *TITLES*.

A

Araf, *A Place of Prisons; Purgatory. or, A Mid-
Receptacle of Souls between Paradise and Hell,
according to the Doctrine of the Turks.*

Allah, *The Name of GOD.*

B

Bassa, *A Title of Honour given to Governors of Pro-
vinces, and Privy Counsellors of the Grand Signior.*

Berber Aga, *The Grand Signior's Barber.*

Bey, *A Lord.*

Beglerbeg, *Lord of Lords. A Title Equivalent to
our Dukes and Princes.*

Bostangi, *A Gardener.*

C

Cadilescuier, *A Lord Chief-Justice.*

Cadi, *A Judge, or Justice of the Peace.*

Caliph, *A Prince, or High Priest.*

Chan, *A Duke.*

Cheik, *A Lawyer.*

Cheiff, *A Prince.*

Chiaux, *A Bailiff, or Serjeant.*

Corban, *A Mahometan Sacrifice of Sheep, which being
kill'd and cut in Pieces, are distributed to the Poor.*

D

Derwise, *A Religious Man.*

Dey, *A Governour.*

Divan, *The Grand Signior's Privy-Council: Also a
rais'd Ground in a Hall, or any other Room of a House.*

Dunalma, *A Festival, or Royal Holy-Day.*

E

Emier, *A Lord.*

F

Festa, *The Sentence which the Musti gives in the De-
termination of any Cause brought before him.*

I N D E X.

H

H rna, *The Treasury.*
H a i o d a, *The Royal Chamber.*
H a s n a t a r W a s s i, *Chief Treasurer to the Grand Signior.*
H o g i n, *A Doctor of Laws.*
H i v a g i, *A Confectioner.*

I

I m a u m, *A Minister, or Clerk of a Church.*
I n i s a r A g a, *General of the Janisaries.*

K

K a t m a c h a m, *A Deputy-Lieutenant, or Governor of a City. The Grand Vizir's Vicegerent. By Way of Excellency, 'tis appropriated to him who governs Constantinople in the Grand Vizir's Absence.*
K i a y a B e y, *Lord-Lieutenant of the Janisaries.*

M

M a n d a t i n, *A Governor of a Province; or, A Lord.*
M i n a r e t, *A Turret, or Steeple of a Mosque.*
M i r z a h, *A General.*
M o l l a h, *A Doctor or Preacher.*
M u r c e r m a n, *A Carrier or Muleteer.*
M u s t u l m a n, or **M** o s e l m a n, *A True Believer; one resign'd to GOD. This Title the Mahometans arrogate to themselves, as the only Elect of GOD, in their own Conceits.*

N

N a b e b, *A Lord.*

O

O m r a h, *A Colonel, or Lord.*

P

P a n t o n e, *A Holy Man.*

R

R e i s E f f e n d i, *A Secretary of State.*

S

S e l i d e r A g a, *The Sword-Bearer to the Sultan.*
S e r a s q u i e r, *A General of an Army.*
S o a c k and **S** a i c k, *Footmen.*
S u l t a n, *A King or Emperor.*

T

T e s t e i d e r, *Lord-Treasurer.*

V

V i z i r A z e m, *The First Minister of State.*

THE

THE
FIRST VOLUME
OF
LETTERS

Writ by a
Turkish Spy,

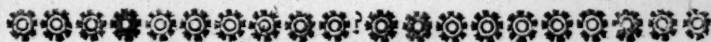
Who Liv'd Five and Forty YEARS
Undiscover'd at

P A R I S:

Giving an Impartial ACCOUNT to the
Divan at Constantinople, of the most Remark-
able Transactions of *Europe*: And, Disco-
vering several *Intrigues* and *Secrets* of the
Christian Courts (especially of That of *France*)
Continued from the YEAR 1637, to the
Year 1682.

*Written, Originally, in Arabick, First Translated into
Italian, afterwards into French, and Now English.*

THE TWENTY-FIFTH EDITION.



L O N D O N:

Printed by A. WILDE,

For S. and E. Ballard, J. Brotherton, W. Meadows,
T. Cox, R. Ware, J. Clarke, S. Birt, D. Browne,
T. Astley, J. Shuckburgh, J. Hodges, E. Wicksteed,
J. Oswald, J. Comyns, C. Bathurst, R. Baldwin,
A. Straban, and A. Wilde. [1753.]

THE
FIRST VOLUME

LETTERS

OF

WHICH I HAVE AND TO WHICH I HAVE
UNANSWERED

PARADES

OF THE
LORDS OF THE
COUNCIL OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
AND OF THE
CITY OF WESTMINSTER
AND OF THE
CITY OF ST. MARTIN'S

AND OF THE
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CITY OF ST. MARTIN'S



TO THE
READER.

I Here offer you a Book written by a *Turk*, whose Matter is as Instructive and Delightful, as the Manner of finding it was Strange and Surprizing. I do not doubt, but you would know where 'twas written; and perhaps, whether the Author be living; and whether you must expect a *Romance*, or a *real History*. Hear then in short what will fully satisfy you

The Curiosity of seeing *Paris*, made a Man of *Lett-ers* leave *Italy* in the Year 1682; where being arriv'd, he found such Diversions, as caus'd his Stay longer than he intended.

Scarce had he been two Months in *Paris*, when, by changing his Lodging, he discovered, by meer Chance, in a Corner of his Chamber, a great Heap of Papers; which seem'd more spoil'd by Dust, than Time.

He was at first surpriz'd to see nothing but barbarous Characters, and was upon the Point of leaving them without any farther Search, if a *Latin* Sentence, which he perceiv'd on the *Top* of a *Leaf*, had not detain'd him:

*Ubi amatur, non laboratur; & si
Laboratur, Labor amatur.*

The Surprize of the *Italian* was yet greater, when after having considered these Characters with more Attention, he found them to be *Arabick*; which Language was not altogether unknown to him; which made him lock narrowlier into them, where he found, That they treated of Affairs of State: That they contained Rela-

tions of War and Peace; and discoursed not only of the Affairs of *France*, but of those of all *Christendom*, till the Year 1682.

The curious *Italian* was in no small Impatience, to know how and where these *Memorials* had been writ, and by what Adventure they came to lie so neglected in a Corner of his Chamber. But, before he further informed himself, he thought it expedient to transport these Manuscripts into another House, as a Place of greater Security.

He afterwards questioned his Landlord, with great Precaution, concerning the Papers; and he informed him even to the least Circumstances.

He told him, That a Stranger, who said he was a Native of *Moldavia*, habited like an *Ecclesiastick*, greatly Studious, of small Stature, of a very coarse Countenance, but of surprizing Goodness of Life, had lived long at his House. That he came to lodge there in the Year 1664, and had staid eighteen Years with him; that being gone abroad one Day, he returned no more, and they had no certain News of him since. He was about Seventy Years old, had left some Manuscripts which no Body understood, and some Monies, which was an Argument, that his Departure was not premeditated.

He added, That he had always a Lamp, Day and Night, burning in his Chamber; had but few Moveables, only some Books, a small Tome of *St. Austin*, *Tacitus*, and the *Alcoran*, with the Picture of *Massaniello*, whom he praised very much, calling him the *Moses* of *Naples*. He said farther, That this Stranger's greatest Friend, and whom he saw often, was a Man which most People took for a Saint, some for a *Jew*, and others suspected to be a *Turk*. According to the Landlord's Report, he came to *Paris* in the Year 1637, being then but 28 Years of Age. At first, he had lodg'd with a *Flemming*; he went oft to Court; Monies never failed him; he had Friends, and passed for very Learned. As for his End, this Man thinks he died miserably: It being suspected, that he had been thrown into the River.

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The *Italian* being sufficiently instructed by what he had heard, applied himself to the Study of the *Arabian* Language; and as he had already some Knowledge in it, he quickly learn'd enough to Translate these Manuscripts, which he undertook a while after; and he examined with Care the Truth of what the *Moldavian* had writ, confronting the Events he met, with the Histories of those Times; and to succeed the better, searched the most approved *Memorials*, having had Access into the Cabinets of Princes and their Ministers.

These Letters contain the most considerable *Intrigues* of the Court of *France*, and the most remarkable Transactions of *Christendom*, which have been sent to several Officers of the *Ottoman* Court.

By these may be known the Perspicacity of this Agent of the *Turks*; and by him the Prudence of those that command in that Nation, who chose (the better to penetrate into the Affairs of *Christians*) a Man who could not be suspected by his Exterior; who was deform'd, but prudent and advised; and, for the better concealing him, destined his ordinary Abode in one of the greatest and most peopled Cities of *Europe*.

During his being at *Paris*, which was Forty Five Years, he has been Eye-witness of many great Changes; has seen the Death of two Great Ministers of State; has seen that Kingdom involved in War, without and within. He was scarce settled in *Paris*, but he was Witness to the Birth of a King, who surpassed those that preceded him; in a Time, when the Queen's Barrenness caused the King, her Husband, to despair of ever having a Son that should succeed him.

During the Course of so many Years, he hath seen Cities revolt, and return again to the Obedience of their Sovereign; Princes of the Blood make War against their King; and Queen *Mary de Medicis*, Wife, Mother, and Mother in Law to some of the greatest Kings in *Europe*, die in Exile in *Cologne*.

He speaks frankly of the Princes of *Christendom*, and explains his Sentiments with Liberty. He saith, The *Emperor* commands Princes, the King of *Spain* Men,

and the King of *France* sees Men, and even Kings, obey his Orders. He adds, That the First commands and prays, the Second sees oft times more effected than he commanded, and that the Third commands many brave Soldiers, and is well nigh obeyed by Crown'd Heads. There appears no Heat or Animosity in him, in what he writes against the *Pope*. In discoursing of the *Emperor* and King of *Spain*, he says, That both of them having Provinces of such vast Extent, they are not much concerned at the Losses they sustain.

He believed that *England* was more powerful than the *Empire* and *Spain* at Sea. He apprehended more the Counsels of the *Republick* of *Venice* than their Arms. He magnifies what passed in the Wars of *Candy*, which the *Venitians* supported with so much Bravery against the Forces of the *Ottoman Empire*. The *Genoeses* with him are perfect *Chymists*. He speaks of the last Plague, and last War that this *Commonwealth* had been afflicted with; he touches something of the late Conspiracy against the State by *Roggi* and *Terne*; and to shew that he understood their History, he says somewhat of *Vackero* and *Balbi*.

Thou wilt see, *Reader*, by the Progress of the Work, what this secret Envoy of the *Ottoman Port* thought of the other Princes of *Italy*, and those of the *Norib*. And I have drawn his Picture, because thou may'st understand better what I give thee of him.

This *Arabian* (for he declares himself in his Writings, to have been of that Nation) having been taken and made a Slave by the *Christians*, was brought into *Sicily*, where he applied himself unto Learning. He studied *Logick* in his Captivity, and applied himself much to History; he overcame them by suffering with Patience the Blows of his Master, who often beat him for endeavouring to acquire those Lights, which this Brute had not. And finally, after much Labour, great Assiduity, and long Watchings, he came, as he writes himself, to understand *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; he had Commerce afterwards with the best Masters; and during his sojourning in the *French Court*, he joined Experience to the Knowledge he had acquired.

He

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He explains himself neatly, and speaks of Things with great Frankness. His Style shews a great Liberty of Spirit, and not Passion; and if it appear that he accommodates himself to the Fashion of the Court, one may see that it is not out of Design to please, but that he wisely conforms himself sometimes to the *Genius's* of Nations.

Thou wilt find in his Letters *Wit* and *Learning*. If sometimes he appears tart, 'tis to shew his Vivacity, not to disoblige; and he appears all over fully instructed in *Antient* and *Modern* History. He is very reserved when he blames, and seems persuaded when he praises. When he speaks to the great Men of the *Port*, his Style is very grave; and he changes, when he writes to meaner Persons. He never tells News that he is not assured of, nor thinks of divining Things that seem obscure to him.

He gives rare Lessons when he writes of the Revolutions of *Catalonia*, the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Portugal*, and *England*, which happen'd in our Days; with strange Circumstances, terrible Murthers, and the Death of a Potent King, Martyr'd by his own Subjects upon a Scaffold, before his own Door.

He weighs much the Duke of *Guise's* hardy Resolution of going to *Naples* to succour the Revolved there; and he reasons not as a *Barbarian*, but like an able Statesman and wise Philosopher, on the Rise and Ruin of States. He always discourses with Liberty, and what he says, is filled with solid and agreeable Thoughts. He speaks sometimes of the Cruelty and Tyranny of the *Turks*, of the Violences of the Ministers of the *Port*, and upon the precipitated Death which many of the *Sultans*, *Bessa's*, and *Vizirs* are forced to suffer. But this Language is only to his Friends and Confidants.

However, though these Letters be neither *Greek* nor *Latin*, nor written by a *Christian*, they contain nothing of Barbarous; and though the Ignorant be in great Numbers amongst the *Turks*, there are yet Men of great Understanding that write the *Annals* of the *Ottoman* Empire, though they are not easily come by:

or, their Books not being printed, they scarce ever reach us. We may notwithstanding believe, That amongst this Nation, that we term Barbarous, there are great and wise Captains, good Men, and learned Authors; as we have amongst us Generals without Conduct, hypocritical *Votaries*, and ignorant Fellows that pretend to be Masters.

To justify what I affirm of the *Turks*, let us but consider their Victories, which have gained them so many Kingdoms, their Power at Sea, their Exactness to punish Crimes, and to reward Merit. As for Printing, they would never endure it amongst them. A *Grand Vizir's* Judgment of it was Remarkable, which shews rather their Prudence, than any Effect of their Ignorance. A famous Printer of *Holland*, by Religion a *Jew*, came to *Constantinople*, bringing Presses with him, with Characters of all Sorts of *Idioms*, particularly *Arabic*, *Turkish*, *Greek* and *Persian* Letters, with Design to introduce the Use of Printing into that great City. As soon as the *Vizir* was informed of it, he caused the *Jew* to be hanged, and broke all his Engines, and Millions of Characters which he had brought; declaring, it would be a great Cruelty, that one Man should, to enrich himself, take the Bread out of the Mouths of Eleven Thousand Scribes, who gained their Livings at *Constantinople*, by their Pens.

Peruse, Gentle READER, what I offer, without Fear of tiring thy self, or being deceived. As *Christian* Authors think of nothing ordinarily, but of writing Panegyrics in hopes of Reward, we have reason to believe not to find all the Truths in their Works. Interest and Passion do often make good Princes pass for Tyrants, and unjust and cruel Princes are sometimes transferred to Posterity for Models of Justice and Clemency. This occasions *Histories* which issue from so corrupt a Source, to serve like a pitch'd Field for *modern* Writers, where the one and the other combat for the Destruction of Truth; the one falsely reporting what they have heard; and the other, by as badly representing the Things they seem to witness. Most Princes will have their
Altars

To the READER. vij

Altars ; and then 'tis no Wonder, if there are Priests found to sacrifice to Falshood, and Idolaters to deface the Statue of Truth.

There is no *General* that will not always seem Conqueror, and Princes never confess their Losses ; which occasions a Confusion, and the Actions of Men do thereby become doubtful.

How many Times have we seen both the Victors and the Vanquished make Bonfires for their Successes ? And, in our Days, we have known the *French* rejoice, and the *Spaniards* and *Germans* sing their *Te Deum* for the same Thing.

As we are, perhaps, now less just than in Ages past, it is difficult to write Things as they are, particularly during the Lives of Princes, whose History cannot be writ without Fear, nor the Truth said without Danger. For these *Reasons*, we ought not to question the Credit of our *Arabian*, who reports with Liberty, what came to his Knowledge : Besides, He being an universal Enemy to *Christianity*, and a concealed One, neither disoblinded or gained by any, and religiously true to his Prince, whom he adores as a *Divinity*, it cannot be imagined, that he says any Thing for Fear or Favour.

As these Relations have been read with Attention, and diligently examined, we may be assured of an exact History, abounding in considerable Events ; and this History being separated into Letters, as the Author writ them, the Reader may read them without repining. If he will not acknowledge the *Translator's* Pains, let him at least receive the Labours of a dead Man with Civility, one that never dreamt his *Memorials* would be Printed, and that served his Master faithfully.

These Sentiments made him exactly follow that Sentence of *St. Austin*, found in the Front of his Works :

Where Love is, there is no Labour ; and if there be Labour, the Labour is loved.

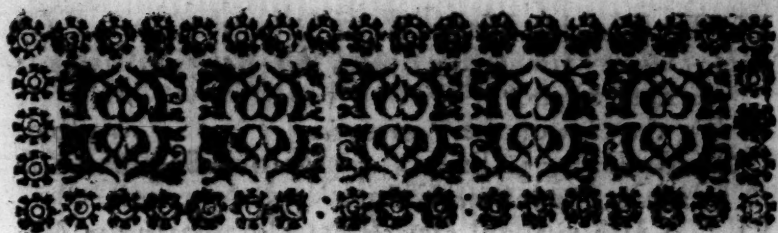
The *Translator* hath thought fit to retrench some Ceremonies and proud Titles of the *Eastern* People. What is represented here, is in a familiar Style, such as the ancient *Latins* used in their Writings to their *Consuls*, *Dictators* and *Emperors* themselves. And, if the Translation be not Elegant as the *Arabic*, do not accuse the Author, seeing it is not possible to reach the Force and Beauty of the Original.

Have, moreover, some Respect for the Memory of this *Mahometan*; for, living Unknown, he was safe from the Insults of the Great Ones, so that he might write Truth without Danger, which ordinarily is disguised by Fear or Avarice, having still reported the Transactions of *Christians*, with no less Truth than Eloquence.

If what I have said cannot satisfy the Curious, expect the rest of these Letters, which will be found full of great *Actions*, profitable *Instructions*, and good *Morals*. Thank God, however, who raises Men that employ themselves in vanquishing Ignorance and Idleness. And in rendering Justice to *Mahmut*, a passionate *Slave* for the Interest of his *Master* and the Truth: Have some Goodness for the *Translator*; who, being born Free, acknowledges no Master, but *God*, his *King*, and his *Reason*.



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LETTERS



LETTERS

Writ by

A SPY *at* PARIS.

VOL. I.

BOOK I.

LETTER I.

Mahmut *the Arabian, and Vilest of the*
Grand Signior's Slaves, To Hafnadar-
bassy, Chief Treasurer to his Highness at
Constantinople.

I Have at length finish'd my Journey, after One Hundred and Forty Days March, arriving at *Paris* the 4th of this present *Moon*, according to the *Christians Style*. I made no Stay in *Hungary*, yet sojourn'd One and Forty Days at *Vienna*, where I observ'd all the Motions of that Court, according as I was order'd ; of which I shall not now speak, having given a full Account to the ever invincible *Vizir Azem*. Being but newly arriv'd, I scarce know any body, and am as little known my self. I have suffer'd my Hair to grow a little below my Ears ; and as to my Lodging, 'tis in the House of an old *Flemming*, where my Room is so small, that Jealousy itself can scarce enter. And because I will have no Enemy near me, I will therefore admit of no Servant.

B

Being

Being of low Stature, of an ill-favour'd Countenance, ill-shap'd, and by Nature not given to Talkativeness, I shall the better conceal my self. Instead of my Name, *Mahmut the Arabian*, I have taken on me that of *Titas the Moldavian*; and with a little Cossack of black Serge, which is the Habit I have chosen, I make two Figures, being in Heart what I ought to be, but outwardly, and in appearance, what I never intend.

Carcoa at *Vienna* furnishes me with Bread and Water, supplying me with just enough to live, and I desire no more. The Eggs here are dearer than Pullets with you. It is to him that I will address my Letters.

Eliachim the Jew came to see me, who seems to be sufficiently inform'd of what passes in the World, and will be a useful Man to me: Yet I will never trust him more than I need. Altho' I have a Dispensation from the *Mufti* for Lying, and false Oaths, which I shall be obliged to make; yet I have still some Qualm on my Mind. However, our Sovereign must be served, and I can commit no Sin, as long as this is my sole End. As for the Intelligence which I shall send, none shall come from me but what is true, unless I be first deceived my self.

It will be hard for me to mention any thing considerable, of a City which is not to be viewed in one Day, I having been there but Seven. 'Tis peopled like the Borders of the Sea with Sand, the Inhabitants lodging to the very Cock-lofts; and Houses are built on the Bridges.

This great City is divided by a River, and both Parts of it are joined by a great Bridge of Stone, well built and very stately. In the midst of it is seen an Horse of Brass, with the Statue of *Henry IV.* which bestrides it; whose Heroick Actions have, justly, firnamed him *The Great*; and he seems still to command this Capitol of the Kingdom. The other Bridges being full of Houses, are not seen; appearing as if they had been made for the City, not the River.

The King's Palace is an ancient Building, yet retains a certain Majesty, which denotes the Grandeur of its Master:

Master : Within it appears a Defart ; for the Court is always abroad, or in the Army.

A Churchman, termed at *Rome* a Cardinal, is the principal Minister of State ; his Name is *Armand du Plessis*, Cardinal of *Richlieu*. He is esteemed a great Politician, a Man of Wit and Action, and every Way fitted for the Place he holds.

All the People make Vows to Heaven, that their King may become a Father ; for the Queen has been barren these many Years.

I go into the Churches as a *Christian* ; and when I seem attentive to their Mysteries, I hold our Sacred *Alcoran* in my Hands, addressing my Prayers to our holy Prophet ; and thus behaving my self, I give no Offence. I avoid Disputes, mind my own Concerns, and do nothing which may endanger my Salvation.

Preserve thy Health, and expect to hear from me as oft as the Interest of our great and mighty Monarch requires, who is the Master of my Life and Affections.

I make thee no Present of my Services, for they be devoted to that *Lord*, whose Slave thou art, as well as I. The Letters I write for the future, shall be directed to the Ministers of the *Divan*.

Live with the Piety of a good *Mussulman*, and the Prudence of an able Minister, and preserve the *Treasure* as thine own Heart, which (thou knowest) is the last expiring.

Paris, 11th of the 9th Moon, of the Year 1637.
according to the Christian Style.

L E T T E R II.

To the same Hafnadarbassly.

I Had too good an Opinion of my self, and did not sufficiently consider to whom I wrote, when I attempted, in so little a Time, to give thee an Account

of the Court of *France*, and how this King lives. An old *Arabian* was wont to say, *To have a perfect Knowledge of Things, we must know them more than once, and forget them thrice, to the end that learning them a fourth Time, they may become perfectly our own.* This will instruct me how to write to my Friends hereafter; not as I understand Affairs, but as they ought to be understood. For, once well done, is better than twice ill done-

I think I may say, the *Spaniards* want Ground themselves, by taking an Handful from others. Two and Twenty of their Gallies, with some other small Vessels have taken two small Islands, nam'd *St. Margaret's* and *St. Honorat's*, which lie over-against *Provence*, and are barren and unprofitable Places; and will serve to little purpose, unless for Ports; and 'tis also a Question, how long they will hold them,

The War between these two Nations is like to continue, especially from the Death of the two *Italian* Princes, *Victor Amade*, Duke of *Savoy*, and *Charles Gonzague*, Duke of *Mantua*.

I believe it an Effect of Providence, that these two Nations know not their own Interest, or knowing it, neglect it. Heaven is more kind to us, for, as our Empire transcends all others in Strength and Greatness, so it does in Unity and Concord; by which means, 'tis in our Power to make War, or live in Peace. The *Christians* never consider the Advantage they lose, and the Good they may acquire, by attacking of us, whom they yet hate, and treat as *Barbarians*.

The Archbishop of *Burdeaux* is, at present, General of the *French* Naval Forces; who, tho' a Priest, is yet permitted to turn *Tarpaulin* and *Soldier*. For my Part, I understand not how a Prelate of his Rank can forsake his Flock, his Altar, and his Function, *if what the Christians say be true*: But that is nothing to us; and the King of *France* being so enlighten'd a Prince, and employing him, as he does, he must needs be a good Seaman and Seldier.

To say no more in this Matter ; For Princes, of what Religion soever they be, are always Sacred, and not to be approached but with Respect, seeing their Doings lie above the Reach of a common Capacity.

I would fain hear of the Grand Signior's Health ; for when he is well, all the World is so to me, and without him I am nothing. I will not write so soon to the Grand Vizir, being desirous to write what passes here with more Exactness.

I am in this Place, like a Man lost in Confusion ; for this Town seems rather a Province than a City. All is Hurry and Noise, every body brushing about after Action. The Men, for the most part, are for martial Exploits, either at Sea or Land ; and as to the Women, they are not idle, employing themselves as becomes them, either in the Shops or Kitchens ; yet they take more Care to shew themselves, than ours do to hide themselves. Do thou be careful of thy Health, for I shall never be miserable, having thee to my Friend.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

LETTER III.

To Darnist Mehemet, *Bassâ*.

I Have been at a Ceremony which I am willing to see often, to give an Account of it in my Letters. 'Tis the *Te Deum*, which the Christian Princes, cause to be sung in their Churches on the gaining any considerable Advantage over their Enemies ; which *Te Deum* is an Anthem compos'd by two of their Saints, to wit *Ambrose* and *Austin*. When the French beat the Spaniards they sing the *Te Deum* ; and when these vanquish their Enemies, they do the same. These two Nations do the Duty of the *Mussulmans*, in destroying one another ; and when this is done, they give God Thanks for the Evil they have committed. Whence we may

judge of the Wisdom and Piety of the *Mahometans*, amongst whom there's seldom seen an open War; and if it should happen, 'tis generally condemned.

The Rejoycing of the *French* proceeds hence: The *Spaniards* had besieged *Lucate*, a small *Peninsula* in *Languedoc*, which is but four Leagues round, with two Ports, where a few Gallies and four small Vessels may anchor in Safety. The Place was attack'd by the *Spaniards* with much Heat, but was afterwards given over withas great Loss; the Assailants being obliged to make a Retreat, not unlike a shameful Flight; quitted their Baggage, their Arms, and all their Provision.

Count *Serbellon* offered at first to *Barris*, who commanded the Place, a great Sum of Money, which was to be attended with a constant Pension; which refused, they were necessitated to betake themselves to Force; by which, in short, the *Spaniards* were entirely defeated. *Serbellon* withdrew towards *Perpignan*, with the Duke of *Cardonn's* Son, who was Vice-roy of *Catalonia*. He lost all his Tents, his Plate, and the Money design'd for Payment of the Army: And, I will say yet more, That he has lost the Reputation of a good Captain and valiant Soldier, *until he can recover an Opportunity to fight and vanquish*. This Victory must have been of Consequence, and very glorious, seeing the King assisted in Person, together with the Queen, two Cardinals, the Council of State, and that of the *Finances*, and that which they call here, *The Courts Sovereign*, which are a Company of Men chosen to judge others. Besides these, there was an innumerable Concourse of People, who testified their Joy for the Advantage gained by their King, notwithstanding it be at the Cost of their Brethren of the same Religion.

Live happily, and conserve thy Honour as thy Life.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

LETTER

L E T T E R I V .

To Ihsuf, his Kinsman.

I Tell thee I live, and am well. I have received no News from thee ; perhaps thou thoughtest me dead. I salute thee first with my Letters, tho' thou oughtest to have begun. If thou art ashamed of thy Kindred, accuse thy Parents, by whom thou art become of the same Family. Be not ungrateful to them, nor forgetful of the Good thou hast receiv'd from me. Thou shalt now know where I am, and ought to stay, and may'st answer me if thou wilt. Believe in the mean Time the Counsel I give thee, altho' thou dost not demand it. Be devout in thy *Religion* without Hypocrisy, and remember there is no more *Gods* but *One* ; as also, that the Favourite and Sent of *God* is *Mahomet* his Prophet. After that, Love thy Master, without desiring any Thing more than the Execution of his Pleasure. Embrace thy Father as from me, and give thy Mother a Kiss, saluting her as my Sister and Friend, which is the most endearing Title that Antiquity could invent for Persons who had the same Sentiments of Affection. Live happily, and conserve thy Chastity.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

L E T T E R V .

To the Aga of the Janizarics.

I Shall give thee some Pleasure in telling thee, that the *Christians* lose easier than they acquire. It seems, the Marquis *Ambrose Spinola*, whom all the World took for a great Captain, has lost much of his

Reputation; seeing that a Place is lost in eleven Weeks, which he had formerly besieged eleven Months, and where he had expended eleven Millions. If these Circumstances are true, they are very extraordinary. However, he shall continte a great Captain in my Opinion; and it is ordinary enough to see that lost in a little Time, by the Cowardice of one, which has not been acquir'd in a great while by the Valour of a whole Army.

The Prince of *Orange* hath taken *Breda*, a Place of great Importance, which had been surrender'd twelve Years and three Months since, to the said *Spinola*, who commanded the Army of *Spain*. This Conquest is great; for 'twas the general Opinion, the Place could not be taken but by Famine; yet it hath been constrain'd to yield, by the continual Fire and Valour of the Besiegers.

Had not the *Hollanders* become Masters of this Place they had been, as it were, block'd up on the Side of *Brabant*, and had the Enemy always at their Gates; whereas now they are more at large. We ought to rejoice rather at their Acquisitions, than those of the *Spaniards*, with whom we never had Peace.

This Place is fortified with much Regularity. It hath fifteen Bastions, besides some little Forts on the Moat-side. There are five Horn-works without. The Place is considerable for its Greatness. It contains 5000 Houses, with great Gardens; and there are three principal Gates.

I mention these Particulars, because thou art a Man of War. Receive my Letter kindly; believe me thy Friend, and do not doubt of my Fidelity. If thou wilt add to thy Valour by new Merit, which will heighten the Consideration Men have for thee, I will teach thee a Secret, which will not be very expensive, but very delightful. Read at times, the Histories of others, and particularly those of the greatest and most fortunate Princes, and their Captains. Imitate rather the Wise, than those who have only signaliz'd themselves by their Valour. To conclude, be conversant in Histories, but chuse alwas the best, I mean such as cannot be suspected

pected for Lyes. Thou canst not fail of good Books both *Greek* and *Arabic*, which are translated into the *Turkish* and *Persian Tongues*. Thou wilt learn to be wise by the Folly of others, and wilt become yet more prudent, by observing the sage Conduct of such who perform'd great Actions : Above all Things, never neglect to make serious Reflections upon the least Events. It happens sometimes, that Passages are found in Books that seem of no Consequence, which may yet be of Use in important Occasions, for the clearing of Difficulties : And for Example, learn this from a great King, *Henry IV.* who conquer'd his Kingdom by the Dint of his Sword.

I will finish with a worthy Saying of Marquis *Spinola's*; which, I think, is to the Purpose, He saith, *That a Captain's Sword must be tied to his Heart, his Heart fix'd to his Head, and conducted by his Judgment*; which ought particularly to be form'd by the Reading of Histories. Love me as much as I esteem thee, and thou wilt never love me enough.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

L E T T E R VI.

To Mehemet, Page-Eunuck to the Sultan-Mother.

THOU hast spent Fourteen Years in the *Seraglio* and, to thy Unhappiness, always been in the Service of Women; serve now a Man, who is certainly somewhat more than a Woman. Thou knowest, the Confidence we have in each other, is arriv'd to that Degree, as we discover our Failings to each other, and to suffer them. Seeing I am at present far off, and by Consequence the more expos'd to Criticks and ill Offices, do not forget the Interests of thy Friend; watch Day and Night for the Advantage of my Life. Ob-

serve, search and endeavour to penetrate what People discourse of me, and what is said concerning me at Court. Our great Emperor sent me hither to observe what passes here, and render him an Account. I know I am where I ought to practise what I am commanded to do, but I do not yet know whether I shall return to the Place where I would willingly end my Days. Most Things are done on that Side, but they are not at all equally perform'd. I have therefore most just Reason to apprehend, that all Men do know that I shall acquit my self with Fidelity, of the Orders I have received. Consider how far his Unhappiness doth extend, who serves another, who is Master of so many Millions of Subjects.

I will inform thee of Two Things, whereof thou shalt tell the first to the *Bassa* of the Sea, and the other to the *Musti's* Vicar. We are told, that the King of *England* hath set forth a Vessel upon the *British* Ocean, of such prodigious Greatness, that it exceeds all others, as well in Force as Vastness. It is arm'd with 120 Brass Guns, It draws, Unrigg'd, Seventeen Foot of Water, and its Bulk is 1100 Ton. 'Tis reported, that it cost 2 Millions of *Piasters*, and as if it were the King of all other Ships, it is call'd the *The Sovereign*. The second News is A Prodigy that happen'd in *Upper Saxony*, which finds but a little Credit with the Wife, but is easily believed by the Women, and the common People.

They say, That at *Dresden* one of the Duke of *Saxony's* Courtiers having cut a Piece of boiled Beef, there issued so much Blood out of it, that the Eleſtor's Table was wholly cover'd with it, which extremely troubled this Prince; looking upon the Adventure as a Presage of Famine and War. Let me hear often from thee, and of our Friends; but, make no Confidence to any, of that which is betwixt us. Thou shalt learn from me Secrets of great Importance, provided thou be faithful and discreet. God grant thee in an instant, the Good which I shall wish to acquire in my whole Life.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

To the Invincible Vizir Azem.

SEEING thou hast acquired the Knowledge of Things present, by thy Prudence and rare Understanding, and hast desired me to inform thee of those Things which shall happen in the Places whither thou hast sent me ; I will endeavour to penetrate into Affairs the most secret, to the End, that nothing in this World may be hid from thee.

At present, there are but few Actions in *Christendom* which deserve to be reported ; and thou art sufficiently instructed in the Affairs of *France*, and touching the Person of her King I expect to inform thee of Events, which at the same Time may divert thee, and instruct thee. This Prince is call'd *Henry the Just*, He cannot be call'd *the Happy* ; for having as yet no Son to succeed him, there will be always Occasion of Trouble in his Kingdom ; nor is there any Hopes that the Queen may prove with Child, by reason of her long Barrenness. If the King will resolve to be divorced from her, and take another, it cannot be effected without *Rome* ; and *Rome*, the *Musti*, and all their *Priests*, will, according to their usual Manner, raise so many Difficulties, and be so long before they determine, that it will be a hard Matter to extort from them that Consent, which the Laws of the *Christians* render necessary for the Dissolving a First Marriage. Certainly this Slavery, which doth thus subject the *Christian* Princes, is hard ; but it is a Point of their Law, which being of no Importance to thee, I will trouble thee no more with it. This Defect of a Successor in the King of *France*, is of great Advantage to the *Spaniards* ; and one would think, Heaven had created this Nation to be Enemies to the *French*. It seems moreover, there is a secret Violence which entertains an Antipathy between the Two Nations ;
which

which enforces a Belief, *That there can never be a solid Peace betwixt them.*

Thou hast already understood from those I write to, and who dare hide nothing from thee, what hath happen'd here during the small Time of sojourning in these Quarters. I will not repeat little Things: The Greatness of the Genius, and the Eminency of thy Employment, have put thee far above every Thing that is not Extraordinary, that we ought to inform thee of nothing but transcending Events.

I will not entertain thee with the Taking of the Old Town of *Sally*, nor the Disorders in the New. Thou wilt have learned more swiftly from the Coasts of *Africa*, Advices of the Hostile Acts which the *English* have committed with their Ships of War, against that City, which the King of *Morocco* protects.

The Attempt was great, and is discours'd of here as a hardy Enterprize. The Vastness of thy Understanding will easily judge of the Consequence.

They say here, That the King of *France* has writ to *Rome*, that he will willingly resolve to make a long Cessation of Arms with his Enemies. If that happens this Repose will serve but to increase the Forces of both Sides, which may hereafter render the War more cruel. In the mean Time, 'tis thought they design a General Peace; but Time will discover to the Politicians what we cannot at present divine.

This Court is Great and Magnificent; it stays not long in a Place, and is very seldom at *Paris*; being in the Camp amongst the Armies, or for Pleasure, in the Country.

The Genius of the Countries is different, but they have an equal Inclination for Two Things very opposite, *War* and *Love*; and apply themselves to both with much Constancy.

The Religion which they call *Protestant*, and which has been the Occasion of so much Disturbance to the Kingdom, is now low, by the Surrender of *Rosbel*, which was, as thou knowest, the principal Bulwark of those of that Par y.

It seems the King will imitate our mighty and formidable Emperors, and will regulate his Conduct by thine, not suffering within his State, Two Religions which are opposite,

The Kingdom is, notwithstanding, as yet full of Trouble. Cardinal *Richlieu* (who holds the Helm of Affairs in *France*, as thou directest that of the Empire of the World) seems, as may be said, in the midst of a Tempest, and hath Reason enough to apprehend Danger; for there are an infinite Number of People, who follow the Standards of *Luther* and *Calvin*, who have no other Thoughts but of his Ruin.

In the mean Time, the Power of *France* seems mighty great, and it is to be apprehended, it may in Time augment infinitely.

Thou knowest, invincible *Vizir*, what the ancient *Gauls* did in old Time. They were called *Gallo-græcians*; for having over-run *Italy* and sack'd *Rome*, they settled in the Middle of *Asia*, and could not be overcome but by the *Romans*; because the *Heavens* had ordain'd, *That the Romans should subjugate all Nations*. But now that those *Gauls* are no more, and there are no more of those brave *Romans*, we must pray the Infinite Goodness of the Most High, That the Power of these Modern *Gauls* may be limited. If the *French*, however, would do what a *Spaniard*, who fled from the Passion of *Philip I.* counselled *Henry IV.* their King, which was, To set himself right with *Rome*, to have a great Power at Sea and a Council composed of wise, secret and faithful Men; by that Means, he might one Day, perhaps, equal the ancient *Romans*. I think, he that gave this Advice was named *Antonio Perez*.

I observe every Thing with Care, but shall observe them nearer for the Future. It appears to me, that the Genius of this Nation is to aggrandize itself, and extend its Limits,

The *French* have a common Saying, That Kings having nothing above them that may limit them, God hath given the Empire of the Earth to the Strongest. They add, That *Adam* left no Kingdoms to his Children,

dren, but that they made them for themselves. They glory in certain Prophecies, which promise them the Empire of the World. In relating this, I tell what they say, not what ought to happen. They entertain here the same Hatred for us, as others do, when our Power is formidable ; but, wise Men, who have Knowledge of our History, speak with more Admiration of the *Ottoman* Empire, than of that of the *Romans* ; and if these last were restored by the Civil Wars which tore them in Pieces, the other will increase and maintain it self, by the great Precautions used to hinder them, and by the Union of their Forces.

Thou knowest more of the Extent of that City of *Paris*, than I can tell thee. It appears to me Great, and full of People ; but *Constantinople* is yet greater and more populous.

Thou wilt pardon me after all, if I make not a certain Judgment of a Nation which I do not yet well comprehend. However, I will assure thee, the *French* are no Fools, and, I believe, never were. They do not love Novelty through Levity, but for Reasons of State ; and when they are Unconstant, it is not to do Ill, but to acquire Good. They are happy and unfortunate in Wars, like others ; but what is considerable, they do not combat their Enemies because they hate 'em, but in Obedience to their Prince, which occasions the great Discipline which is in their Armies. And what seems worthy of Reflection is, That they love their King by Inclination ; and this Love produces in them, that which our Attachment to the Precepts of the Law does in the Hearts of the best *Greeks*. I use this Comparison, which I learned from thee, who art the wisest Man in the World, from whose Mouth I have heard, as from an Oracle, *That it is not much material whether Subjects love their Master by Inclination or Fear, provided they always faithfully serve him, and are always humble.*

If ever it happen I am discovered, thou wilt do me a great Honour to let me know, if I ought to avow myself an Agent from the sublime *Port* ; or whether I ought to die without confessing any Thing. I

I end with my Head In the Dust, without ever ceasing to supplicate the *most High*, that he will shower his continued Happinefs upon thee and the Empire.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

L E T T E R VIII.

To Muzlu Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.

THIS is the Second Letter which I have writ to thee. My Dispatches hitherto have not been filled with Things of great Importance, by reason I have not yet had Time to learn them. I wish greatly to write what may please thee. Receive therefore what I offer kindly, and be persuaded, that I fear thy Censures, as much as if I did deserve them.

I live here according to the Instructions which were given me, and live easy enough. The Country is Good and Fat, the Men good Companions, are frank, and seem discreet.

I have not as yet any Acquaintance with the Women, and yet it is necessary I find Means to introduce my self into their Companies. It is a Sex that will not pardon, when they think themselves neglected. They are proper to discover Things one would know, and to say them when one would have them publish'd; and likewise, they as much penetrate into the Secerts of Hearts, as the most refined and spiritualest Courtiers: Further, there are many of them that can conceal nothing, but what they do not know

I frequent not the *Monks*, but when necessitated If I see them, it is to seem Devout, upon Design of being introduced by them into the House of a Minister of State, when I teach his Son the *Greek* Language.

We

We must not expect to find here the great Tranquility which is at *Constantinople*. The Town is so full of Coaches, of Horses and Waggon, that the Noise surpasses Imaginations. Thou wilt certainly find it strange, that Men who are in Health, and have no sore Legs, should cause themselves to be drawn in an Engine with four Wheels : But I more wonder to see the same Men can resolve to suffer the Inconveniency of the Noise, and of the Expence which they throw away out of Vanity. The more moderate French, which do not approve of this Luxury, say, That in the Time of *Henry III.* there were but Three Coaches in *Paris*, whereof Two were the King's : But the Number is now so great, That they are not to counted.

I can tell thee no more of the Genius of the French, thou knowest it perfectly. *There is in all their Actions a Spirit very delicate, and an Activity like that of Fire.*

It seems as if none but they knew the short Duration of Man's Life; they do every Thing with so much Haste, as if they had but one Day to live : *If they go on Foot, they run ; if they ride, they fly ; and if they speak, they eat up half their Words.* They love new Inventions passionately. I can say nothing certain of their Fidelity, tho' methinks we might suspect such, *who do not read as they write, nor write as they speak.* They love Monies, which they look upon as the first Matter, and second Cause of all Things : They well nigh adore it, and that is the original Sin of all Nations.

Paris ought to be destroy'd, to enrich many Cities in *Europe* : Whence thou may'st comprehend her Greatness, her Traffick, how rich she is, and how all Sorts of Arts do flourish in her

The French Nobility is always ready to get on Horseback at their King's Commands : And they love War so well, that it is to be supposed, we should have enough to do with them, if we were as near them as the *Spaniards*, and they did not want Infantry.

I shall hereafter observe every Circumstance with so much Care, as well in this Kingdom as else-where, that nothing shall escape me. In the mean Time, I shall endeavour

endeavour to get Acquaintance; but shall want more Money than is allow'd me to answer what is expected from me. Two *Chiquins* a Day, are more than enough to support a Man that will live like a *Cynick*, but not sufficient to introduce me into their Houses, to dive into their Secrets, and enable me to discover the Affairs of most Importance, according to my Commission, so that thou must assist me to obtain more.

I hope to succeed in my Employment, if thou dost not refuse me thy Assistance, finding no Difficulty in the Execution of my Orders, but the Necessity of Lying, when I pass for a *Christian*. I fancy I see *Mahomet* in a Rage, and believe my Soul lost; tho' I am from my Heart more faithful in my *Religion*, than all the *Mahometans* put together. Seeing I am resolved to do a Thing to which I have so much Aversion, thou may'st be assured, I will bear all the Evil imaginable that can happen to me with Firmness, tho' in all appearance I ought to hope nothing but good.

Deliver, I beseech thee, this enclos'd Letter into the Hands of the most Venerable *Musti*, and exhort from him, if possible, a Solution of my Doubts. There is nothing that touches me nearer than what regards my Religion, and with my Religion the Service of my Emperor.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

LETTER IX.

To the *Musti*, Prince of the Religion of the Turks.

I Will die a true *Mussulman*, tho' I should see all the Crosses of the *Carthaginians* set up for my Punishment, and had before mine Eyes, all the Instruments of the most cruel Tortures that the Enemies of our holy Religion could invent. But, seeing there is no question at present of dying, but of living to serve my Emperor,

Emperor, I Beg of thee, Sovereign Prelate, that thou wilt be pleased to conserve my Innocence, in giving me an ample Absolution, or in imposing a Penance that may cancel all my Crimes.

Paris hath always been the Residence of the Kings of *France*, whence it is, that the Exercise of no other Religion but the *Christian*, is suffer'd there; and those who acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* for their Head, have the Principal Management of the Affairs of Religion; and 'tis with these, that the Rites of the *Latin Church* are more strictly observed,

I live here in Appearance, as if I were a *Christian* and a *Catholic*. I enter into their Churches, assist at their Ceremonies, kneel before the Cross; and I appear with great Devotion and Humility before the Images, which are had here in Veneration.

I know well enough (if the Life which I lead be not permitted me, as advantageous to the Affairs of State, and the Person of the *Grand Signior*) that I commit Sacrilege, acting as I do, contrary to the Precepts of *Mahomet*, express'd in his *Alcoran*.

I am guilty of violating the Law which is prescrib'd me, and deserve Death, if thou dost not, by approving this Life I am obliged to lead, assure me of both my Salvation and Life. 'Tis true, thou hast already given me Absolution from all the false Oaths I shall be necessitated to take, when they are for the Service of my Master; but I am not assur'd this Absolution extends far enough to secure my Conscience, when I abuse holy Things.

'Tis thy Province to decide this Point, which is of such Importance to my Repose, which makes me expect thy Resolves with Impatience; if thou think'st a faithful *Mussulman*, who conserves his Religion in his Heart, and lives as I do, among the Enemies of the Law, worthy this Grace.

The Interest of my Conscience obliges me to demand after what Manner I ought to govern my self, when I see them, who are effectively what I seem to be, practise the same Acts of Religion

The

The French will in a little Time celebrate their *Carnival*, or *Shrove-tide*. As soon as it is done, the *Catholics* think of Fasting, having first assisted at a Ceremony, where Ashes are put upon their Foreheads, to make them remember *they were formed out of the Dust, and shall return to Dust again*. It is at this Time they go to hear Sermons, their Priests explaining that which they call the *Gospel*, and frequent the Church more than ordinary. They apply themselves oftener to Works of Piety; and having purged their Consciences by Penances, and secret Confessions, which one Man makes to another, they eat of a certain Bread, which they call *The Sacrament of the Eucharist*, where after certain Words pronounced by their Priest, they will have the *Body* of their *Messiah* to be really present under those apparent *Species*.

This Ceremony is an Obligation that good *Christians* cannot dispense with, it being ordain'd by their Law and by their great Prelate, the Bishop of Rome. They commonly call it *Confession*, and *Communicating*, and keeping *Easter*. Ought I to hazard my self in committing so horrid a Sacrilege, and tempt, as I may say, God by so great a Superstition, and so irritate our great *Prophet*? It may be said, perhaps, that many *Jews* have done the same Thing, and do it every Day, to preserve themselves more securely: But how many of them have been chastiz'd by visible Miracles from Heaven, and undergone terrible Punishments by the Ordinances of the Judges?

All these Reflections trouble my Spirits, O Holy Primæ of the most divine Law. I do not think it lawful, to mock the Mysteries of any Religion whatsoever. The God of the *Christians* is the same that we adore; but their Religion is quite opposite to ours: There is a great Difference betwixt their *Jesus* Crucified, with all the Ignominies possible, as these Infidels do believe, and a *Mahomet* Immortal and Triumphant, a great *Legislator*, and the Angular Stone of the first Empire of the World.

Give

Give me then positive Orders, to the End I may be eased of my Scruples, and may believe that what thou permittest, may be Effect of thy Justice, and not of a Toleration, which may be pernicious to me.

It is true, I may wave all these Things in feigning to have done them; but it will be more Advantageous for my Affairs, not to exempt my self, if that may be without a Crime.

Teach then a most obdient Slave what thou shalt believe most conducive to the Glory of God, and most profitable for the Service of our Sovereign Lord. I do not send thee my Doubts to puzzle thee, but to draw from thy great and sublime *Genius* such Lights as may dissipate the Darkness I live in.

This done, Sovereign Prelate, remember thy humble Servant, and pray our Holy Prophet, that he will keep me from perishing.

Paris, 15th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1637.

LETTER X.

To the Kaimacham.

I Received from thy Hand the first Dispatch that has been addressed to me from the Sublime *Port*, and I received it the Beginning of the Year, according to the *Moons* of these *Infidels*. The Date is of the Month *Mielidge*. Thou orderest me to write to thee of Two Things, and to do Three. Thou wilt first know, *If this King be aged, and of perfect Health*; and afterwards, *If there be any Hopes that the Queen may have Children*. Thou would'st also have me send his Highness the Pictures of the King, the Cardinal of *Richlieu*, and the eldest Son of the Prince of *Conde*.

As thou art one of the principal *Supports* of the Power of the Sublime *Port*, elevated above all the Thrones of the World (after the *Vizir Azem*, whose Orders are the

the Rule of the Universe, Minister and first Slave of the happy Emperor of the *Ottomans*) I ought to do what thou commandest me.

I tell thee then, I have seen this King thrice, nor doth he appear by his Countenance, by his Hair, or by his Shape, to be yet old; neither would it be easy to divide the Number of his Years, if he were ignorant of the Day of his Birth; but it is known to every Body, that this Prince was born the 27th of the 9th Moon of the Year 1601, according to the Style of the *Christians*.

By this thou may'st justly calculate the Age of this Monarch, who, tho' he is in his Flower, seems fading, because he hath as yet given no Heir to his Kingdom; besides, his Years being near forty, surpass that of a young Man; and 'tis observ'd, *That few Princes arrive to a great Age,*

The Queen may still lie in, if she proves with Child, which if it should happen, after 23 Years of Barrenness, 'tis certain, a Fruit which hath been so long in Ripening, will give an ample Subject of Reason to the Astrologers of *Europe*.

For my Part, I fancy this King will scarce become a Father, unless he repudiate this Wife, and marry another.

It is not permitted to be inquisitive into the Cause of this Sterility. Hereby thou seest the Weakness of those *Christian* Princes, who are subjected to the Laws of *Rome*, which think it a Crime to give themselves Heirs that are not born of lawful Wedlock; tho' it often happens, that when such are wanting, this Kingdom is expos'd to Ruin, by the Dissensions and Civil Wars, which on these Occasions are always inevitable.

The most High, who has always protected the Grandeur of the *Ottoman* Empire, hath left the Infidels in these Errors, to the End, that *He* might give our most mighty Monarch, who is the Avenger of the *Divine* Unity, an Eminence, Superior to that of all Kings, who are his Slaves; and at the same Time, made him Holy above all the Saints in the World; and permitted

mitted us to have Children, that may succeed us, from as many Wives as we can entertain, the Children of *true Believers* being always Legitimate.

I humble beg pardon, I forgot I spoke to thee, who art Wisdom itself, and to whom no Secrets of the Law or State are unknown.

I will send to *Carcoa* at *Vienna*, the Pictures of the King, of the Prince of *Conde's* Son, and of the Cardinal *Richlieu*, according to the Orders I receiv'd from thee, and they shall be dispatch'd in little time: I would to *Heaven* I could as easily send thee the *Originals*; I should at one Stroke disarm this Kingdom, which would thereby be suddenly involved in Fire and Blood.

The Habit I wear, and the Manner after which I live, have already gained me many Friends. I find Means to go once a Week to Court. My Deformity protects me against the Jealousies of Husbands. Some People take me for a wife Man, and discourse confidently in my Presence of Politicks and Affairs of State; neither do I neglect the making use of every thing, which may be advantageous to me in my Ministry. Thus, in doing a Thing for the which I have much Aversion, I compass all I desire; and I assure thee upon my Faith, if thou wilt continue to protect me, and assist me with thy Counsels, I will do somewhat extraordinary.

I supplicate the *Great God* to give a perpetual Health to thy Body, and make thy Soul enjoy upon Earth, and in Heaven, the Felicity of the Blessed.

Paris, 1st of the 1st Moen,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XI.

To Bedredin, Superior of the Convent of
Dervises of Cogni, in Natolia.

I Write to thee, who art Venerable by thy Age, and so many long Voyages, which thou hast made. Thou who hast been so many times on Pilgrimage to *Arabia*,
Tartary,

Tartary, Persia, and the Indies, always barefoot, and begging out of pure Devotion to the Saint of Saints, our great Prophet *Mahomet*.

I address this Letter to thee : Thee, who bearest the Scars of 25 great Wounds : Thee, who hast pray'd 59 Times in the sacred Porch, and ador'd the Holy Mysteries in the most retir'd Sanctuary of *Mocha*, and hast lived more than 70 Years of Religion amongst the *Derwises*, where thy Merit caused thee to be elected Superior of the Convent in *Natolia*.

Thou knowest well that I serve him, who is Arbitrator of the Destiny of the Universe, I mean the *Sultan*, Sovereign of the World. Learn what I heard here from the Mouth of *Christians*, and pardon me, if I have not sufficiently answered them ; but do not accuse me to have deserv'd Death, for having seemingly cursed our Holy Law, and him that gave it us ; and if I have seem'd to reject his *Successors, Ali, Osman, and Omar*, it was expedient that I should commit some Evil, not to lose the Opportunity of doing much Good.

Thou knowest well I am destin'd to serve ; and that being absolv'd from all the Perjuries I shall commit, I may transgress the Law by being permitted to lye : That suffices. Read my Letter, and learn how far their Malice does extend, who are Enemies to our Religion.

To instruct thee better in what has happen'd to me, I must tell thee, That amongst these *Infidels*, there is an Order of *Religious* much in vogue, call'd *The Company of JESUS* : Wherein there is an infinite Company of Men, some more able than others in all Sorts of Sciences, Sacred and Prophane ; and, according to appearance, ought to be very recommendable for the Holiness of their Manners.

These *Religious*, who are ordinarily call'd *Jesuits*, have the Education of the Youth almost in all the Cities of *Europe*, as well as in the *Indies* ; and many excellent Wits are brought up in the Seminaries they have established. When they preach, the People crowd

to their Sermons They are the Confessors of almost all the Princes and Monarchs of *Christendom*, who discover to them their Weaknesses, their Sins, and the Vices whereunto they are inclin'd; and receive from them upon their Knees, like Slaves, such Penance as they think fit to impose on them

A Man may say of them, That being Dispensers of Penances, they are also the Masters of Recompences. They are habited in a long Vest of black Wool, which descends to their Heels. They go not barefoot, but their Vestments are simple. They observe great Modesty in all their Actions; they march with Gravity, never go alone, and suffer not their Beards to grow. They apply themselves to edify the Good, and to correct the Bad.

The Founder of this Order was a Soldier, called *Ignatius*. The *Spaniards* will have him to have been of their Nation: and the *French* affirm, that he is of that Part of *Navarre*, which is subject to the Crown of *France*. If thou would'st have me to speak the Truth, I think this Founder was a good Man, seeing all his Disciples are Men of good Example, of great Modesty in their Actions, and very discreet in all their Undertakings.

This *Ignatius* began to study the Grammar in his 37th Year, which would make one believe, he took less Pains to become a Saint than a Scholar. His Enemies call his Disciples, *The Politicians of the Church*; and I, on the contrary, call them *The Camels of Esau*: because in bearing the Burthen of the Affairs of their Religion, they are loaded more than others, and forced to couch under their Burthens. There is one Thing seems strange in them, to wit, That they should name themselves, *The Religious of the Society of JESUS*; as if they had a Design to distinguish themselves from other *Christians*, and that this Title which is particular to them, ought not only to agree to all the other *Religious*, but to all the Followers of the *NAZARITE*.

If they follow the Precepts of their Father *Ignatius*, thou must needs approve their Way of Living. He has taught no other Way than that of Obedience to those that profess his Order. He ordains, That those who enter into this Society, do abandon themselves to the Discretion of their Superiors: And they affirm, That if the Pope commands them to pass the Sea in a Vessel without Oars, without Sails, and without a Rudder, they would obey, and must pass. And some having reproached them that there was Folly in such blind Obedience; They answer, That Wisdom ought to be observed in the Commandments, and that it ought not to be searched in Obedience. Make Reflections upon this Sentence, which is conformable to our *Laws*.

To inform thee of the Power and Greatness of this Order, it suffices to tell thee, That during Sixteen Years that this Soldier govern'd it, he saw an hundred Colleges in *Italy*, in *Germany*, in *France*, and in *Spain*; and that in *Rome*, which was founded by *Borgia*, hath been, as may be said, the Parent of all the rest. Judge hereby the Number of their Houses and Disciples.

Having one Day met with one of the Society who understood the *Oriental Languages*; and who conversing with me, did not believe he discoursed with a *Mussulman*: I heard him vomit injurious, and fearful Imprecations against *Mahomet*, against his Law, and against all true Believers. I have so much Horror to write to thee all he said, that I will tell thee but some few of them; and the rather to divert thee by the Knowledge of the Errors of our Enemies; and also that thou mayest not be afflicted at some Things not very reasonable, which are observed in many of the Precepts of the *Law*, which we follow. Let this be said, as if I had not spoken it, seeing I pour frankly the Secrets of my Heart into thy Bosom; no ways doubting, but thou knowest to be silent in what may cause my Death. This *Jesuit* maintains, That the *Mussulmans* are not wise in following the Precepts of a

Drunkard, who forbade drinking of Wine, and committed Excesses himself, when he thought he was unobserved. He maintains further, That it is foolish to give credit to such a Fellow, who makes a Paradise to consist of beautiful Women, where one may abandon himself to all sorts of Pleasure and Debauchery; and that he hath not foreseen a Hell, where he, and all his Followers, ought to suffer the Pains due to their Crimes. He adds further, That one must be very foolish to adore a Blasphemer, who hath commanded his Law should be maintained by the Sword, when it could not be supported by Reason.

The Father did now leave off so; he said, That seeing the *Alcoran* is filled with Dreams, with Bestialities, with Blasphemies and Impurities, the *Muſti's*, and Doctors and Interpreters of the Law, must be in a great Blindness, not to condemn a Possessed, an Enchanter, who gives for the Precepts of his Religion, the committing of Violence, Robberies, and all that may satisfy the most irregular Appetites. What Extravagancy, urged he, to adore the Hell of so vile a Slave as *Mahomet*, and to believe, upon his Report that *Jacob's* Father was his Porter, to deify his Camel, and to place it in Heaven? He adds further, that there is nothing so absurd as to command the *Turks* to wash their Bodies, when their Souls are defiled with Filth; to give them at the same time Charity by Precept, and to command them Robberies by Devotion. It seems also to him foolish, to believe that *Mahomet* is the only true Prophet, the only agreeable Person to God; and to swear afterwards by 1240 Prophets. He still entertains me with this sort of Discourse.

But all this (O great *Deceit*) is nothing; he vomits yet this damnable Heresy, that the wickedest Wretches, and the most detestable that ever lived, were *Judas*, *Mahomet* and *Luther*; that these two last, as most impious, are the more tormented in Hell. *Judas*, he said, suffered less Pains, because, if he betrayed his Lord, he was one of the Instruments of the Redemption of all Mankind; whereas the others in damning

ing themselves, damned also an infinite Number of other People. This *Jesuit* would have continued his Blasphemies, if Cardinal *Richlieu*, in whose Anti-Chamber we were, had not come out of his Closet to go to the King.

I had been silent all this while, because he gave me not a Moment's liberty to speak. At length he asked me at parting, If I was not of his Sentiments ? And I answered precisely thus ; My Father, If thou art a good Man, I approve what thou sayest, because thou speakest out of true Zeal ; but, if thou beest a Hypocrite, I disapprove all ; because thou shalt be damned with *Mahomet* and all the *Mussulmans*.

The *Jesuit* smiled, not comprehending the Venom which lay hid in my Answer. But dost thou not believe, thou, who art a *Dervis*, the most illuminated, That a Man, of what Religion soever he be, provided he be a good Man, may be happy after his Death ? Tell me, I pray thee, thy Opinion herein ; it is a Point very important to be decided.

As for me, I begin really to think, That there may be *Saints* among the *Christians*, as there are amongst *Us*. I have seen and understand many Things that denote true Piety in some of them ; and we must acknowledge, that the Precepts of their *Law* have somewhat of Just ; and if they be well observed, they seem no less holy to me than our own. They have one *Article* that puzzles me ; They affirm, There is but one Truth, so that we are lost, if we are not *Christians*, or they are damned, if they are not *Mahometans*.

And this is what I had to say to thee in this Matter ; but I shall not end this Discourse without some violent Scruples of Conscience. Pray the *Great God* with me, That he will illuminate my Understanding with inward Lights, until the *Man* promised by our *holy Prophet*, the Man, I say, who ought to be born of his Race, be descended upon the Earth ; who is to see all Kings humbled in his Presence, and to unite with *Jesus* the two Religions, that they may make but one.

In the mean time, let us live as honest Men, who have Sin in Horror, like the Plague, which poisons the Soul; and apply our selves, as much as in us lies, to what is truly Good; and, above all Things, let us carefully observe this Precept, writ in the Book of their *Law*, but is not always imprinted in their Hearts. *Never do to others, no not to thy Enemies, that which thou wouldst not have done to thyself.* A Duke of Guise gave an Example of this to all France; and 'tis what thou oughtest to preach in the vast Empire of the *Mussulman*. This Prince surprized a Villain that would have assassinated him, who confessed that the Interest of his Religion (which was that of *Calvin*) had obliged him to form a Design to take him away, to deliver himself, and those of his Party, from so great an Enemy. The Duke, instead of causing him to suffer the Pains due to so Black an Enterprize, pardoned him, contenting himself to tell him, *Friend, If thy Religion obliged thee to kill me, without hearing me; my Religion obliges me to give thee thy Life and Liberty now I have heard thee: Go thy ways and amend thyself.* This Prince was then General of Charles IX's Army

Sage *Bedreden*, our *Mahomet* never shew'd such generous Sentiments, when he prescrib'd in his *Law* this Precept against *Christians*, that had never offended him, *When you encounter the Infidels kill them, and cut off their Heads, imprison them, and keep them in Chains, until they have paid their Ransoms, or 'till you find it requisite to set them at Liberty. Persecute them until they have all submitted, or are entirely overthrown.*

Observe in this Letter what may be of Use to thee. Pardon by Friendship, the frank Manner of Writing, and remember *Mahomet* in thy Prayers, who personates a *Christian*, and is in his Heart a most faithful *Mussulman*. If it be in thy Power to succour me, never do me any Injury. God protect and govern thy great Age to the last Moment.

Paris, 28th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER

LETTER XII.

To Chirurgi Muhammet, *Bassa*.

THE Queen is with Child, when least expected, which occasions much Joy at Court; especially to the King; who after so many Years of Marriage will become a Father.

Thou who hast applied thy self so long to the Studies of Astrology in the Schools of *Egypt*, yet makest Profession of this Divine Art, which discovers thee Things the most hidden to thee; who readest so learnedly in the Book of Heaven, whatever the Stars have traced there; who hast found the Moment of their Rising and Disappearing, with the Intervals betwixt these two Times, and the Cause which render their Motion quicker or slower; thou, who penetratest into the most hidden Secrets of Men, and knowest the Seasons of Famine, of Shipwrecks, of Victories, and Loss of Battle: Divine in God's Name, great Interpreter of the Secrets of Nature, wiser than *Alumazar* and *Ptolemy*, what will become of this Impregnation; and whether it be true, that this Child, that is to be born, has been more than 270 Moons in forming.

If thou believest what I writ last to thee to be impossible, say nothing of it; it would be no Credit to me to pass for the Author of a Novel, that has no Grounds of Truth.

The City of *Paris* is in an inconceivable Joy; and this Joy is spread all over *France*. Thou mayest perceive by that, the Passion of this People to see their King a Father 'Tis true, they have much to hope by it; but it is as certain, they have yet much to apprehend, seeing all their Hopes vanish in an Instant.

Nature uses all her Power when she forms a Man, the most perfect of all Creatures. But, there needs but a slight Fall to destroy this Workmanship before it is finished, as well as after.

I have heard a great many People question much the Sex and Life of that which will be born.

All the Conversation at the Court of *Paris*, and in all the Kingdom, is no more of Wars, of Leagues, of Peace or Naval Preparations; they all rowl upon the bringing to Bed of Women.

There will be other Reasoning in some small time it *Chrifterdam*; and even amongst us, if the Queen do not miscarry; *France* being no less considerable amongst other Kingdoms, than the *Bourbons* are amongst Men. *Henry IV* who introduced the Crown into this Branch of the Family, was a Prince very brave; and if we live long enough to see his Grand-Children, we shall see, whether they will have as much Courage as the Chief of their Family.

As for thee, thou wilt have wherewith to divert thee, and exercise thy Talents, if this Queen be brought to bed happily of a Prince. I shall in the mean time be very exact to mark, not only the Days and Hours, but the least Minutes; to the End thou may'st know, by the Situation of the Planets, which ordinarily regulate the Inclinations of Men, in what Manner, a Prince so long expected, will regulate his Affairs, and consequently those of others.

It is a great while since we have had any Commerce here with the Sun, there being Forty nine Days since this beautiful Planet appeared to us; and the Cold is so violent, that it has changed (as I may say) the Waters of the *Siene*, a large River, into Crystal. Do not look upon these Effects as extraordinary; it happens here frequent enough; for; when the Days are shortest, the Cold is most intense. Thou knowest, that this Climate is very inconstant. I have often seen, in a little Space of Time, Rain, Hail, Snow, and terrible Winds; and presently after, the Air becoming fair and serene. This inconstancy of the Climate has its Advantages: for, if the *Fair* Weather do not last long, the *Foul* is also of less Duration.

Fail not, upon the Receipt of my Letter, to communicate the News I send thee, to the *Grand Vizir*, without

out telling him the Reflections which I make. They are of no Use to such great *Ministers*; particularly by us, who are in comparison of them, but vile Slaves, always subject to the Sentences they pronounce of us.

Love me, and consult the Stars to know whether thou wilt be always faithful to me; and, if it be by Force or Inclination.

As for my self, I assure thee, that following the Inclination of my Heart, I will conserve thee that Fidelity which I owe by Obligation.

Paris, 28th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1638.

L E T T E R XIII.

To Carcoa at Vienna.

THE *Kaimacham* commands me forthwith to send the Picture of the King of *France*, the Eldest Son of the Prince of *Conde*, and of the Cardinal *Rich-lieu*. I caused them suddenly to be copied from the Originals, by an *Italian* Painter, who passes for one of the best of these Times.

These three Heads are the principal of *France*, if not of all *Europe*: The First, by reason of a great and potent Kingdom, which is this Day more flourishing than all Others: The Second, by reason of his Nobility or Royal Blood, and by his extraordinary Courage: And the Third, by a wise Conduct in a Ministry full of Difficulties; being, as it were, the absolute Master of Disgraces and Recompences.

As soon as these Pictures are delivered to thee, whole and well conditioned, pay the *Express* I dispatched to thee, the Sum contained in the Bills, which he will present to thee from me. That done, send the Packet to *Constantinople*, without loss of Time, and address it to the *Kaimacham*.

I beseech thee order the Business of my Pension so that I shall not need to desire the Payment of it. Send, me presently what is order'd me for my Subsistence. Nothing in the World appears so terrible to me, as to be oblig'd to ask.

I have only Monies for six Days, tho' I should eat nothing but raw Herbs and Water. Both cost Money here; *And every Thing is sold very dear, except Civilities and obliging Terms, which you have for nothing, and whereof they are very liberal.* I must live, I must have Cloaths, and go to Court; for all which there must be Bread, Cloth or Serges, and Coach-hire.

Thou knowest at present my Wants, suffer me not to languish with Expectation. Thou wilt injure the Emperor, and not *Mahmut*, if thou dost not readily assist his *Slave*.

The Great God preserve thy Life, if thou doest not forget me; and give thee Grace to be Sober, in a Country where People do not always drink Wine to quench their Thirst.

Paris, 28th of the 3^d Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XIV.

To William Vospel, a Christian of Austria.

I Am oblig'd to thee for the Confidence thou hast in me in declaring to me thy Losses. Another would have rejoiced in hearing of thy Two Adventures: But as I do not believe it is a great Evil to lose a Wife, so I cannot think it is a considerable Good to turn *Monk*. It is impossible for me to forbear telling thee, That I find thy Resolution too sudden to approve of it. Thou art not the Cause of the Loss thou hast suffered, and yet retirest into a Convent to do Penance, as if thou hadst committed a Crime.

In

Is it necessary thou torment thy Body for the death of a Wife, if thou hast not murdered her? If thou didst love her, because she was discreet, it is not impossible to find another as prudent. If her Beauty charmed thee, there are enough that may please; but if thou wert weary of being a Husband, why art thou then of being a Widower? Tell me, What wilt thou do at present in the *Convent* thou art shut up in? The *Carmelites* are *wise* indeed, but know not *all* Things. It is true, they are very devout, but not exempted from Sin: Finally, they are Men, and too austere. How canst thou so suddenly accustom thy self to that kind of Life thou hast chosen, *and become at once chaste and sober*? As for me, who am no *Christian* as thou art, and more restrained in my Pleasures than thou hast hitherto been, I cannot understand what I see in that *Order* thou art entered into: Neither can I figure to my self, how a Man bare-footed, with a Shirt cover'd with a coarse Habit of Wool, who is no Master of Crowns, and who hath no Armies, should absolutely command, not only another Man, but many, who obey blindly what he requires of them.

To live well in thy *Order*, thou must fast; the least Faults are not pardon'd; thou must receive Offences with Thanks: Finally, the Combat is assured and constant, and there is but little Certitude of the Crown which ought to be the Reward. Thy greatest Friend is obliged to betray thee, and thou wilt be deprived (as it may be said) of the Elements, to make thee desire the use of the Water, Air, Earth, and Fire. I cannot persuade my self, that there are so many Things required to make a *Saint*; for when thou lovest *God*, as much as it is in thy Power to do, and passest every Day, as if it were thy last, I believe thou wilt live and die a just Man. Return me an Answer, and let me know, if what I write to thee be conformable to right Reason; or, that I am deceived in my Opinion. The Friendship I have for thee obliges me to write as I do, and to tell thee all I think that regards thee, because after thou hast taken thy last Resolution, I would

rather see thee suffer with Constance all the Evils imaginable, than to see thee change with Confusion. There are many who have abandoned with Shame, the Places which they entered in Triumph; and how many have been pushed by their Despair to commit Follies which seemed Actions of Piety, which they had never undertaken in their right Wits.

We see in our Histories, that many great Men have caused themselves to be circumcised, thereby to have Commerce with the *Jews*, and be instructed in their Doctrine, finding their ancient Temple magnificent, venerable, holy, and full of Majesty. We also read, That *Pythagoras* cloathed himself in White, and stay'd some time amongst the *Solitarie*s of Mount *Carmel*, to learn the *Mysteries* of their Religion. His Curiosity was the Occasion of this Great Man's Voyage, as their Ignorance had caused the same Design in others. It is not the Desire to be instructed, which made thee enter into the *Convent*; the Affliction for the Loss thou hast suffered, made thee take this Resolution. Take heed of quitting it by a Repentance, which would prove an Excess of Folly. The *Jews* are at present Vagabonds, without Law, without a Kingdom, without Altars; and according to the *Alcoran*, they will be metamorphosed into Ases, to carry the Souls of the wicked *Mahometans* into Hell. Who knows what will become of the *Carmelites*? They say, *Elias* is not dead, but is to return to the Earth, to combat those Men who shall rise to trouble the World about the establishing a New Religion. Stay still where thou art, or return presently from whence thou camest; lest, after too long a Stay, to come out in Form, thou commit a Fault, that God will not easily pardon; which will doubtless happen, if thou persuade thy self, that thou canst not find the way to Heaven, but out of the Noise of the World.

If thou dost not find I advise thee well, do thou better; but, above all things, govern thy self so, that God may not reproach thee one Day, That a *Moldavian* gave thee good Advice, and thou didst neglect it.

The

The worst of *Turks* might give the same Advice that I do, as a good *Christian*; and it would be no surprizing Thing, if thou receivest better from a *Mahometan*. These *Barbarians* are sufficiently instructed in *Morality* to teach others that which they do not always practise themselves. Virtue and Truth are respected every where. Turn thee from *East* to *West*, from the *South* to the *North*, thou wilt find on all sides impious Men who blaspheme against the Deity; but true Virtue has that of singular, That *she is always respected, and even by the most Profligate*.

Consult once again thy Forces and thy Courage, and take a better Resolution, if thou art not yet well fix'd in thy first. *Titus* salutes thee out of this World; and prays Heaven to give thee the Pleasures of the happy, in thy Solitude, if thou beest no Hypocrite, and if thou hast not yet repented of thy Resolution thou hast taken.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XV.

To Ibrahim, who renounced the Christian Religion.

THOU hast renounced thy Religion, either to save thy Life, or for some other Consideration. I do not say this to make thee scrupulous, but in Quality of Resident in this Kingdom, to serve here the Sultan Emperor of both Seas, and of the Two Parts of the Earth, Distributer of all Crowns; the Grandeur of whose Majesty, I beg of God, may last 'till the Day of Universal Judgment. I advise thee to take heed, not to sollicite those *Infidels*, whose Religion thou hast abandoned, to run the same Course that thou hast done.

Thou

Thou hast written to thy Brother, that he is become a Beggar, because he renounces his *God* a thousand times at Play; and that thou art at present very rich, for having renounced him but once, and by that thou exhorteft him to turn *Mussulman*.

I thought good to write to thee, That Souls are not to be gained with a Letter and a scurvy Jest. Think of becoming a good Man after thy Change of Religions, and give no occasion to the *Marseillians* to say, That thou art infamous, because thou hast renounced thy Faith, and that we are all damn'd, because we are *Mahometans*. If thou dost not approve the Advice I give, I shall be obliged to acquaint the *Port* with what shall come to my Knowledge; which I shall do with Regret, because thou mayest suffer by it.

The Great God make thee rather Wise than Fortunate.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XVI.

To Dicheu Hufflein, *Bassa*.

AS the Knowledge which I shall have of Affairs will augment daily, so I shall have the more Matter to write; and will omit no Occasion to remark what occurs, which I will not fail immediately to communicate. Thou, who with great Application observeft what passeth amongst Men, and art desirous of knowing the most secret Transactions of Potentates; thou mayest observe, That there are more violent Enmities betwixt the *Christian* Princes of *Europe*, than all the other Princes of the World,

I cannot comprehend whence it is, that these *Infidels* cannot live in Peace; and, perhaps, they do not comprehend it themselves. It seems a Decree of Heaven, That Man ought to be contrary to Man, and that

that whilst there are Kingdoms there will be Wars and Enmities.

The Wars which are carried on at present in *Alsace*, look as if they would last long. The Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, the second Scourge of the Imperialists, who was slain six Years since, did not terminate the Differences of *Germany*; they are greater than ever; and there appears in the new Generals of the Armies, vaster Designs than those in their Predecessors. Perhaps they will revenge the Death of *Gustavus*, who was kill'd, not as the *Christians* affirm; but by one of the forty *Germans* who had bound themselves by Oath never to quit their Swords before they had slain him, as the *Turkish* Historians do write.

Duke *Barnard Weymar*, of no less Valour than *Gustavus*, commands the rest of the *Swedish* Army, with a good Number of *French* Troops, and many *Christian* Hereticks of *Germany*. Victory attends the Arms of this General; and the Princes which are united for Defence of the *Empire*, begin to apprehend a Captain, who observes less the Rules of War, than the Emotions of this Valour, and whom they perceive seconded by Fortune. But he doth not consider, That in weakening an *Emperor*, he doth augment the Force of a King, who will enjoy the Fruits of his Labours, and suppress him in spite of his Bravery when he pleases. In the mean time, I am of opinion, That it is our Interest, that *Weymar* be always victorious. It may be said of him, That he had sold to *France* all but his Glory, having reserved nothing for himself but Hope.

All that this Duke can conquer from the *Germans* is for the *French* King, who furnishes him with Troops, with Arms, and with Money, beside wise Advice. Cardinal *Richlieu*, who is an able Statesman, fails not to persuade his Master, that the Places which *Weymar* shall take in the *Empire*, with the Army which he commands, are the Effects of his Counsels, and his Majesty's Money. The *French* begin to preserve their Conquests, and know how to defend the Places which are subject to their Power.

The

This Prince makes Acquisitions, which are in Truth of more Importance, than they seem considerable for their Greatness. He took *Rbindfeld* almost as soon as he had besieged it. The Place was strong seated near the *Black Forest*, where the Garrison was furnished with Abundance of all Sorts of Ammunition.

John de Wert, General of the *Imperial* Army, had relieved it with nine Regiments of Horse, and 5000 Foot. He defeated *Weymar's* Horse, took Part of his Baggage and Artillery. The Duke of *Roban*, a great Captain, and great Statesman, was hurt, and taken fighting; and the City relieved with Men, Ammunition, and Victuals, which rendered the Taking of it more glorious.

They write, That two *Imperial* Generals, the said *John de Wert*, which had succour'd *Rbindfeld Eubensfort*, as also Duke *Savelli*, had been taken in a Combat which preceded the Rendition of the Place, besides 30 Cornet, and 19 Foot Captains. These Spoils were gained by the Blood of the *Swedes*, and sent to the *French King*; who after he had caused them to march through all the Streets of this great City, commanded them to be hung up in the principal Church, where I saw and consider'd them as Marks of the Triumphs of Policy. The Siege of this Place lasted but Eighteen Days.

The Duke of *Weymar*, after this Victory, marched into the Marquisate of *Durlach*, where he took the Castle of *Rotelen* defended by the King of *Hungary*; in which he found great Store of Provisions, and all Sorts of Ammunitions, which served greatly for the refreshing of his then needy Army.

In the mean time, Duke *Savelli* escaped out of Prison, and retir'd to *Luzerne* in *Switzerland*. The Officers that guarded him were accused of favouring his Escape, which cost them their Heads.

All I write to thee is most true, and thou mayest cause my Letters to be enregister'd. God grant that *Brisac*, together with all *Alsatia*, may fall into the *French* Hands, and that the Emperor of *Germany* be subjected

subjected to the Law of the *Osmons*, *Thou seest the Time come, wherein the French make Conquests without being present at them.* The King of this Nation appears not only happy, but is so in Reallity; all Things succeeding that he undertakes. His Queen's being with Child and the Cardinal's Policy, puzzles the *Spaniards*, and *Empire*, and *Italy* it self. What will happen none knows, but *God* and *Mahomet*. 'Tis our Duty to humble our selves, and say what we see, and not be so rash as to penetrate into the Future.

Do what thou canst by thy Intrigues, to augment the *German* Losses, for the Reasons thou knowest; and particularly to facilitate the *Sultan's* Conquest in *Hungary*. Assist in the mean time, the poor and faithful *Mahomet*, not with the Sword that cuts every Thing, but by good Counsel, by which we ordinarily perceive the Re-union of what the Sword hath separated: And I will pray the *most High*, that all the *Infidels* bow the Knee before *Amurath*, and that all that breathe, may enjoy their Lives, but by an effect of his Clemency.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

L E T T E R X V I I .

To Achmet Beig.

I Receive none of thy Letters; I receive none from the *Divans*; and I have none from any of my Friends. *Italy*, where there are so many People proper for War, that *Province* which hath commanded the World, is at this time troubled by the Arms of *France*. The *Pope* and *Venetians*, who appear to have the principal Interest there, make no Advance to divert the Storm that threatens them. *Piedmont*, which belongs to the Duke of *Savoy*, begins to feel the Incommodities that War draws always with it. That State is in the midst of the *Spaniards* who attack it, and the *French* ruin it in defending it. These

These last cannot abandon the Interest of the House of *Savoy*, the *Duchess* being their King's Sister, and her Children his Nephews. The *French* are already strong on that side, having a great Garrison in *Pignerol*, a Place very considerable, which they call one of the Gates of *Italy*, whereof they have been Masters since the Year 1631; and their Power will much increase by the Accession of the Fort of *Breme*, which may be termed a Rampart, covering *Cazal* and *Vercelle*, and which also defends both *Montferrat* and *Piedmont*. The Marquis of *Leganez*, Governor of *Milan*, having rendered himself Master of the Field, had laid Siege to *Breme*; and Marshal *Crequi*, having in the Name of the King his Father, undertaken the Defence of the young Duke of *Savoy*, opposed the Design of the *Spaniards*. 'Tis believed the War will be cruel in this Quarter, being *these* are very strong, and the *other* very expert.

Thou shalt know the Event. In the mean time, all the Affairs of the *French* do not appear so Fortunate in *Italy*; and, at this Hour that I write to thee, the Court laments the Loss of the *General* that commanded their Armies in that Country.

There is certain News of the Death of Marshal *Crequi*, who was shot with a Cannon Bullet thro' the Body, as he was going to view the *Spaniards* Works before *Breme*. This Loss was by so much the more sensible to the *French*, in that they saw their Enemies make such great Rejoicings at it.

All Men conclude, this *Crequi* was both a good Soldier, and a good Captain; a wise Man, and of excellent Conduct. He had acquir'd great Reputation for the King his Master in *Italy*. He slew Don *Philip*, Bastard of *Savoy*, who challenged him in the Sight of Two Armies. He several Times defeated his Sovereign's Enemies in *Montferrat*, and in *Piedmont*, and beat back the Duke of *Feria* to the Gates of *Milan*.

There remains no more of this Great Man, who did so many brave Things, but the bare Remembrance of them.

Scarce

Scarce any Thing of his Body, save his Entrails, was left for his Soldiers to celebrate his *Obsequies* with. His Soul is before the Throne of *God*; his Friends honour his Memory with their Elogies; his Kindred mourn for him; his Sovereign praises him, and his Soldiers crown his Tomb with Herbs and Flowers.

The *Italians* say highly upon this Occasion, That *Italy* has been fatal to the *French*, and that it will be so always. They affirm, That the Duke of *Savoy* will lose his Estate, if defeated by his Enemies, which he will likewise do by the Victory of his Friends. But these are the Conjectures and ordinary Reasonings of Men, which I write to thee, to the End thou may'st not only know what is done, but also the Discourses which are entertain'd upon the Events that happen. We shall shortly have News of the Siege of *Breme*; in the mean time, it imports the *French* much, to conserve the Opinion had of their Valour and Goodness.

The Business in hand is to defend a Great and Illustrious House, which moreover pretends to the Sovereignty of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, troubled by the Ambition of Kindred, and the Politics of the *Spaniards*. These Engagements import much to Princes, who have as many Maxims as differing Interests; but we have nothing to do with the Differences of others.

May it please *God*, that our Affairs be alway attended with an Equality of good Luck, for the Ruin of these *Infidels*. Be thou constant in the Friendship thou promised'st me, and always faithful to thy Friend, who recommends himself to thee, as the Law obliges thee to be to thy Sovereign.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER

LETTER XVIII.

To Berber Mustapha, Aga.

I This Day entertained a Man which came from *Italy*, and hath served in the *French* Troops. He gives this Account of the Death of Marshal *Crequi*.

The 17th of this *Moon*, this *General* having approached the Lines of the *Spaniards* to view their Works, and to fight them, in case he judged it expedient, a Cannon Bullet separated his Body in Two, and the Bullet being taken up, they were surprized to see a Cross graved upon it, about which were also engraved Letters, which made these two Words, *TO CREQUI*. This Bullet, the Cross and the Letters, caused no less Astonishment, than the Death of this Captain did Sorrow; and every Man spoke his Sentiments of it.

Many treat the *Spaniards* as Magicians and Sorcerers. Those who are persuaded of the Power of *Necromancy*, affirm, That the *Devil* can carry a Bullet to the Place whither 'tis design'd: Others are of a contrary Sentiment, and believe, there is no Power without the Commandment of the *Great God*. There are others, who believe neither Charms, nor Characters, nor Magic; who, despising all these Superstitions attribute all to *Destiny*; and I believe the same. *Abmet Celebi* explains this perfectly well in his Journal, which begins in the 1026th Year of our *Hegira*; when he affirms, That all Things which pass here below are effected by the Orders of *Heaven*, 'We cannot doubt (says he) but the Events which we see, are the Effects of the Will of *God*; yet ye must believe, he suffers all Things to happen by *Second Causes* :

Had not *Sultan Osman* irritated the *Janizaries* and *Spahi's*, by throwing them into the River alive, when he ran disguised through the Streets of *Constantinople*, and found them drinking Wine in Taverns: And had he not published his Design of reforming his *Militia*,
and

and transporting the *Imperial* Seat elsewhere, he had not perhaps been murdered with so much Ignominy.

God sent him a terrible Dream before his Death. He thought he saw our *Great Prophet* snatching the *Alcoran*, which he was then reading out of his Hand, and taking from him by Force his Coat of Arms, and striking him down with such a great Box on the Ear, that he could not get up again. Thou knowest he consulted the Astrologers, and Interpreters of Dreams thereupon. I will not report what he, who was his *Præceptor*, said, for it was plain Flattery; but we saw, what was foretold by the Astrologers came punctually to pass. These had foretold, That the Emperor should never see the Feast of *Ramezan*; because the Star which presided at his Birth, was much obscured in its Conjunction with the Planet that was then predominant; which made them affirm, he would die in a very little Time. The Ignominy wherewith his Death was accompanied, was an Effect of *Destiny*; for never any of the *Osman*s suffer'd so much Shame. He had several Times seen the fatal Cord about his Neck without dying. A Soldier, in Charity, lent him his Handkerchief to cover his Head, which was without a Turbant.

He said, all in Tears, to his Murderers, *Ye saw this Morning your Emperor upon the Throne, and this Evening you are for throwing him into a Dung-Cart, designed to carry Dirt into the Sea: You cannot live always, and God will require a Reason for this Cruelty.* Thou knowest his resisting of those that strangled him, caused him to suffer much Pain. They took hold of him by the Secret Parts; and one of his Ears was cut off, and carried to the *Valide*, who expected the News of his Death. The Will of God appears in this Adventure; as also, the Power of *Second Causes*. Thou mayest see all this in the *Journal of Ahmet*. Had not Marshall *Crequi* been in the Wars, he had not perhaps ended his Days by a violent Death; and had he not been so rash as to approach too near to the Enemies Works, the fatal Bullet had not touched him.

We

We see hereby an Effect of God's Will accompanied with our Consent; because we search by our own Choice that which we might avoid

In the mean time accuse me not of Ignorance or Superstition, if I have been long in entertaining thee, upon a Matter in Action betwixt *Man* and the *Devil*. Thou knowest that by Magic Art, we number the *Twelve Spirits* or *Angels*, which preside over each of the *Signs* of the *Zodiack*, which governs the Nations, People, and Cities committed to their Care. In like manner, in the secret *Caballa* of the *Jews*, by the Twelve Anagrams of the Great Name to God, and according to the Colour of the Stone where these Anagrams were engraved, they judged the Future; performing thereby Things very astonishing. They have subjected our Bodies to these Twelve *Signs*, and divided them into Twelve principal Members. But how many surprizing Things are done with the Number *Seven*, to which they have applied the Seven Planets; by means whereof they discover the Secret of the good or evil Fortune of Men? Add to this, the Invocation of Spirits, and the power of Figures, of Words, of Herbs, of Writings, of holy Characters, and so many other Inchantments, wherewith they consult the *Black Angels*; and thou wilt find that Men do many Wonders by this Art, which they cannot do without supernatural Assistance.

The little Bits of Paper, cut Triangular wise, which *Tockta Cham*, the King of *Persia*'s General, caused to be thrown in the Night round about the Imperial Tent of the Great *Vizir Afis*, (in each of which there was a certain Word writ) wrought more considerable Effects, than the *Spaniard*'s enchanted Bullet, which kill'd *Marshal Crequi*. The *Ottoman* Army revolted the Day following, as if possess'd with Furies. The most seditious took and bound the *Vizir*, and made him raise the Siege of *Babylon*: And the King of *Persia*, who had already dismissed *Mustapha Aga*, our Envoy, with the Treaty, whereby he surrendered this Place, being advertised of the precipitate Retreat of our Army, caused

Mustapha

Mustapha to be called back, tearing the Treaty he had given him; and in his Presence bad him tell his General, He could not do so shameful an Action, as to surrender so important a Place to an Army that was running away

Hast thou ever heard of any thing so strange? Read this *Abmet Celebi's* Book, and thou wilt see, that all these Prodigies arriv'd in one Day. The Historian makes no Judgment upon this Adventure, he only reports it; niether do I believe it was an Effect of the Enchantments of these Bits of Paper, and the Characters contained in them; because it is certain our Army was greatly pressed with Hunger. But in Effect, when *Mustapha*, all in Tears, reproached the *Vizir*, That if he had gained but two Days time, he had made a Peace equal to a Victory; *Afsi* answered him, How couldst thou with thy Tears retain an Army possess'd with all the Devils of Hell, and resolved to be gone?

If thou finish the reading of so long a Letter, accuse thy Patience, and reproach not me with Tedioufness, for having writ many Things to thee worthy of being known. After the Death of the *French* General, *Breme* was presently delievered to the *Spaniards* by the Cowardliness of the Governor, who incurr'd in time a rigorous Destiny for it; having his Head cut off at *Cazal*, where they had imprison'd him.

The *Great God* preserve thee and thine for ever; and protect thee against the ill-will of those that do not love thee.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XIX.

To Murat Bassa.

THE Duchess Dowager of *Savoy* finds herself extremely pressed by the continual Incurfions which

which the *Spaniards* made into *Piedmont* : they having besieged *Vercelle*, a Place which covers the Country on the Side of *Milan*.

She herself appears on Horse-back with great Courage, being resolved to recover what is lost, as well as to defend the rest, which is in some Danger ; having joined her best Troops, with great Diligence, to those of *France*.

A Cardinal which they call the *Cardinal la Valette*, commands, in the Place of Marshal *Crequi*, those Troops of *France*, which consist of 12000 Foot, and 4000 Horse.

Thou dost not know, perhaps, what these *Cardinals* are : They be the principal Priests of the *Roman Church*. Their Profession is not to command Armies, though that sometimes happens, either through want of sage Captains, which these *Infidel Kings* may sometimes stand in need of ; or for other secret Reasons which are not always easy to penetrate, and must be of great Importance, *France* not wanting fit *Seculars* : A *Roman Musli*, called *Innocent IV.* gave the Purple Habit to these Priests, and obliged them to wear Red Hats, Caps and Bonnets, that this Colour might always put them in mind, they ought to shed their Blood for the Service of their Church and Religion.

I have been told, that formerly there were but 25, and now their Number is said to be 72 ; which is that of the Disciples of the *Christian Messiah* ; but they are seldom compleat. I was desirous of being precisely informed what the Dignity of a *Cardinal* is ; and an old Physician, that seems to be an honest Man, instructs me in all things that regard the Religion and Politicks of the *Christians* : He is such an Enemy to the *Circumcision*, that he gives often the uncleanness of all Meats to his Patients, such as we think unwholesome, and cannot be eaten without Sin.

Thou that art a Statesman, and obliged to assist at Council, and in the *Divan*, ought to know more things than others, and those more perfectly.

I will

I will inform my self with Care of the Life, Actions and Genius of this *Cardinal la Valette*, to know, whether the King his Master has any other Reason than that of his Valour and Experience in War, to make use of a Priest in his Armies to shed Blood and ruin People; for I never heard the *Mussulmans* did ever make use of a *Cheick* to command the Armies of the Empire: Besides, they are without Experience, fearful and superstitious.

The *Spaniards* are more powerful in Infantry and Cavalry, having 18000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, whereby they pretend to render themselves Masters of *Piedmont*, and drive the *French* wholly out of *Italy*. The Marquis of *Leganez*, Governor of *Milan*, affirms, That his King will not suffer the Children of the late Duke of *Savoy* to be under the Protection of Strangers. He says, That *Pignerol*, and other Places in the Power of the *French*, were usurped upon the House of *Savoy*, and must be restored. They affirm, That the House of *Austria* will hinder the Widow, her Children and Subjects from being oppressed.

Behold here an Example of the singular Piety of the *Spaniards*, in Favour of a Widow, and her Children; and on the other Side, admire the Kindness of the *French*, who fight against these same *Spaniards*, for the Conservation of that which concerns neither of them. It would be difficult to discover these secret Mysteries. Every Prince puts a Value upon his Reasons, as he does upon his Moneys.

The Duchess of *Savoy* came accompanied with a great Number of Ladies, and the greatest of her Court. She was on Horse-back, at the Head of all the Company, both Horse and Foot, and harangued the Army amidst the Battalions.

She conjured, not only the Captains, but even the Corporals, and private Soldiers, not to abandon her Defence. She shewed all the Sentiments of Grief that a Person of Courage could have, in seeing herself exposed to lose her Estate; or to see her Children, in a manner, Captives; and upon this Occasion, she failed

failed not to mingle Torrents of Tears with the most charming Expressions, which is ordinarily the strongest Eloquence of Women.

The Army being sensible of the Duchess's Misfortune, which she had represented with all possible Earnestness, the *Cardinal Valette* caused it to discamp to relieve *Vercelle*. He forced the *Spaniards* Lines, and put two Thousand Men into the Place. The Besieged fortified with such Succours made a great Sally, and much *Infidel* Blood was shed on both Sides. But all that the Cardinal could do with his Care, and the Duchess with her Tears, could not hinder *Vercelle* from falling into the Hands of the *Spaniards*. 'Tis said, that the Commander of this Place, and his Garrison, defended themselves to the last Extremity; and having no more Powder or Lead, they fought at Push of Pike, with Stones; and finally, when all was gone, with their Fists.

But this is not believed here, it being alledged, that the Governor or the General, did not do their Duty. The Cardinal, say they, fail'd in his Duty also; for knowing they wanted Ammunition, yet he did not send it, though he found means to put into the Place such a great Number of Men. But the Governor is blam'd yet more, that did not discover this his Necessity to the General.

I tell thee all these Particulars, to inform thee of the Manner how the *French* make War; many of those Oversights would cost us our Lives.

There marched out of *Vercelle* 4000 Men bearing Arms. Thence thou mayest judge, that our Generals are not cruel when they cause the Heads of Commanders to be taken off that behave themselves so ill.

The Princess of *Mantou*, who has lost her Husband, would, they say, marry a Prince of the House of *Austria*, called the *Cardinal Infant*, which is an Effect of the Policy of the *Spaniards* to have a better Pretence to attack *Montserrat*, and drive out the *French*, who entered there by Consent of the Duke of *Mantau* who was Sovereign thereof.

The

The valiant Duke of *Roban* is at length dead, in a Castle near *Berne*. I think I writ he was hurt and taken Prisoner in the Battle fought by the *Suedes* against the *Germans*. He was in the 68th Year of his Age, and was very considerable for his Erudition, Valour, and Experience in War. He was bred a Soldier from his Youth; was always employ'd in Military Affairs, and had often commanded Armies. He supported by his Bravery and Experience, for a long time, the Remains of a feeble and dying Party against the Power of the King. He was Illustrious by the Greatness of his House; and his Religion was that of the *Calvinists*, called the *Reformed*. His Body was embalm'd, and afterwards brought to *Geneva*, with great Magnificence and Warlike Pomp. This City is the Retreat of such as the Church of *Rome* calls *Hereticks*, who are all well receiv'd here; which gives great Occasion of Complaint to the Pope's Partizans; how reasonably, I will not presume to determine; but there appears to me much more Splendor in the Ceremonies of those of the Catholick Church, and they pretend to greater Virtue and Antiquity.

These are the Transactions in *Italy*, which came to my Knowledge. I will not fail to write what pass'd in *Germany* these last *Moons*, as soon as I have the Certainty of them.

Pray *GOD* the Differences and Wars, which are amongst the *Infidels*, may never end; that *Italy* may be humbled even to the Stirrup of the Horse, on which rides the Great Emperor of the *Elect* of God, the faithful *Mussulmans*; and that all *Germany* may adore the sacred Porch of *Mecca*.

I pray *GOD* support thee always, that thou never fail; and so conduct thee, that thou never goest astray.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XX.

To Dgnet Oglou.

THE Condition I am in at present, makes me think of those long and tedious Days we passed together at *Palermo* in Slavery. How fruitless were the Tears which the Irksomness of our Captivity made us shed? Yet nothing befel us, but what is common to other Men: But thou wert too young to support it, and I had not Experience enough of the World to conceive the Unhappiness whereunto Fortune had reduced me.

Thou art at present at *Constantinople*, where thou hast all thy Heart can desire; and I at *Paris*, where I have a thousand Things to take Care for. *Constantinople* and *Paris* are indeed two of the greatest Cities in the World; but much differing in manner of Living, Cloaths, Language, and Religion. Thou art at present in the midst of Pleasures, with thy Friends, Children, Wife, with the Liberty of exercising thy Religion, which is the true One; and that, in the *Mosques*, which our Fathers established: Moreover, thou art elevated in Dignity. I, on the contrary, am amongst *Infidels*, amongst *Idolaters* and *Hereticks*, oblig'd to live with a Nation much differing from ours in their Inclinations and Customs. Finally, I live amongst the *Devil's Peacocks*. The excessive Liberty they give themselves, is not such as is enjoy'd with true Satisfaction of Mind; seeing they do a thousand Things which carry Repentance along with them.

The Philosophy of the *Stoicks*, which I learned during my Captivity, gave me to understand of what Importance it is for a Man to know himself. Thou may'st remember, perhaps, in the Beginning of our Slavery, that thy Master and mine were no less opposite in their manner of Living, than our *Genius's* were differing.

My

My Enquiry was after Books and Writings; and Watching did not weary me, provided I employ'd it in learning somewhat. On the contrary, thou being always employ'd with different Handy-works, didst little think, that Heaven had design'd thee wear a Sword, and consequently to the Employments of War.

How many Things did we suffer in those Days, whereat we do now laugh? Thou wert always chain'd, and I in Prison in a Den; thou wert beaten, because thou wouldst not read, and I was bang'd to Pieces, because I would not embroider.

The Reading of *Seneca* could not induce me to pardon my Master the *Bastinado's* he gave me. That which I endured was greater than the Pains which thou didst suffer; I was persecuted for the Pleasure I took in Reading; and they would oblige thee to study, whereas thy Inclinations were quite different from mine.

This Hardship made me resolve to hide my self in a Cellar, without Bread, and without Water. I had nothing but my *Seneca* with me; and I was resolv'd to deliver my self from my Servitude by Death; so far had this *Stoick* persuaded me not to live. *Thou art so near Death* (quoth he) *and in the mean time art a Slave.* Judge the Force of my Temptation, by the Authority of this Great Man. Whilst I was thus hid, my Master searched for me in vain, in the Garden, the Stable, the Kitchen, and had no less Pains to find me, than I had to hide my self from him. But at length I chose the better Part, which was, to live and to forgive.

My Master owes his Life to *Seneca*; he taught me so well to forget Offences, that my Despair changed into Respect. I had no more mind to die. I felt my Courage fail, and Fear made me pardon my Master. Thou hadst no Knowledge of this Adventure, because I went into the Country, and thou wast ransomed, whilst I was out of *Palermo*. I was so very intent upon my Studies, that my Master, vanquished by my Obstinacy, gave me Liberty to apply my self to them; being himself ashamed to continue ignorant,

whilst I dreamt of nothing but of improving my Mind.

In the Course of Four Years, and Four Moons, that my Captivity lasted, *Nero's* Master gave me the first Tincture of *Morality*; and after that, I went into the *Academies*, where I writ the *Journal* of my Life. *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and *Tacitus* made me forget the odious Name of *Master* and *Slave*.

The Examples of so many great Men whose Histories we find there; of so many Emperors, Kings, Captains, Masters or Slaves of their Passions: Some dead by the Hands of their Friends by Poison; others by the Sword and Surprise; others persecuted by their Fathers or their Sons, sometimes by their Wives, and often of their native Country and Slaves, so often sav'd and defended by themselves, dispos'd me to suffer patiently the State whereunto I was reduc'd, and acknowledge, *That the honest Man is never a Slave, where-ever he is, when he can find his Master within himself.* I had Time then to do a Thousand good Things, which I should never have done, if I had not been in the Condition I then found myself.

Consider how much we learn by Books, and more yet by the Disgraces that happen to us. We see the Ill as in a Perspective, and the Good in little. Disgraces afflict us when they happen; and good Fortune when it leaves us. When I was in my House, I liv'd not at Rest, because I fancy'd Serving; and now I am in Service, I am in continual Fear of not Pleasing. How many Souls hath *Amurath* sent into the other World, to expect the *Universal Day of Judgment*! And how many more will he send in this Siege of *Babylon*, whither he goes in Person, carrying Terror with him, and Forces sufficient to destroy the Empire of the *Persians*!

He hath commanded me to observe the *Actions* of the *Christians* with all possible Application and Exactness, to give Information of them. He will in doubtful Affairs, have me to write to him my own Judgment, and not that of others. He will have me not to shorten
but

but extend my Explications ; that nothing may be left that will admit of a double Interpretation, and will rather have me tedious, than appear eloquent by the Conciseness of my Relations. He orders me to receive the Advices of *Carcoa*, who is at *Vienna*, and to inform *Adonai* the Jew, who resides at *Genoa*, in what is necessary, to the end that all that passes in *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, may be dispatch'd to the Ministers of the *Divan*.

The Secretary of State, as Master of all that is written, has Orders to en-register my Letters, and examine them. He, according to his Capriciousness, or Ignorance, may render the Exactness wherewith I obey, criminal, by saying, *I am a Fool, or do not write the Truth*. This Registering puts me in Pain : For as many mean Things may appear very good at first Sight, and are often commended, because of their Novelty ; so they may appear also very despicable when they come to be examined, and may deserve a Check.

I tell thee what I have Reason to fear, without telling thee those Things which might raise a Belief in thee that I have Reason to hope.

Our Sovereigns are mighty, and they distinguish themselves from all the Potentates of the World, by the Impetuousness wherewith they give their Orders : And there is no Empire where Punishments and Rewards work so great Effects. Thou knowest the rest, which is superfluous to tell thee, and which Princes do not willingly hear.

Explain to me better the News I heard of *Mussuladin Aga*, of an Action of Justice of old *Berber*.

He writ to me, that a Creditor to whom he ow'd for a Shirt, being dead, he had put the Price into the Deceased's Hand, and went his Ways. This new Way of paying Debts, seems very extraordinary to me. There is an Author, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, I have forgot, which tells another Adventure, not unlike this, of a Man, who not finding his Shoe-maker alive, threw the Price of the Shoes he had made him into his Shop. If these Actions be not done for Ostenta-

tion, they seem virtuous; but if out of Vanity, I cannot believe that our Negligence to pay our Creditors whilst alive, can be excused by the Care we take to pay them after their Death.

The Dead want nothing in the *other World*; they are living that have need of Supplies in this, and who suffer sometimes very much, when they are not punctually paid. The *Ancients* could never sufficiently describe the Excess which Men committed by their Passions, and the *Moderns* do it as little. They are just sometimes even to Superstition, and sometimes unjust even to Excess. *Sultan Mustapha's* Charity for the Poor was very great. He was not satisfied according to the Precepts of *Pythagoras*, to give Life to Beasts; his Simplicity went yet farther, not presided by any Prince or Saint; he threw Pieces of Gold to the Fishes, in Ponds and Rivers, alledging for his Reason, that the most secret Alms were the most agreeable to God, and that these Animals would never tell of it.

Thou wilt answer me when thou hast Time and Convenience. God give thee the Succour which is necessary for thee; and let our *Great Prophet* be always favourable to thee.

Paris, 20th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXI.

To the Kaimacham.

MY last Letters shew what happen'd in *Italy*, on the Side of *Piedmont*, which thou may'st have seen at the *Diwan*.

I have informed the Council what the *Infidels* have done there, where three different Nations, which have but one Religion, fight together: The *French* make War upon the *Spaniards*, to assist the *Savoyards*; and these latter would drive the other out of *Italy*,
and

and reduce *Savoy* under their Power, which does what it can to avoid the Yoke of both these Nations.

It is to be feared that new Troubles may arise from this War ; which will undoubtedly happen, if it be not suddenly terminated by a Peace. I will only write to thee what I know, and perhaps what is not come to thy Knowledge. I will not repeat what I have already written ; because my Letters pass securely, by the good Order which thou hast taken.

The different Interests of the Princes of *Italy*, occasion small Intelligence betwixt them. As their Estates are separated the one from the other, so they are divided by their Maxims, their Interests, and Pretensions. They have, however, but one Religion, which they make to serve for a Pretext to their Designs, which are all different ; and there is not one of them which wholly minds his Religion, which can have but one only End.

There are few that can suffer the Conquests of the *French* in *Italy*, because that Nation seems restless, and Men would not see the *Spaniards* more powerful than they are, because they play too much the Masters. But, however, as the least of these Princes have their particular Inclinations and secret Interests with these two Nations ; thou art ignorant of those of the Republick of *Genoa* with the *Spaniards*, with whom they have strong Alliances : But peradventure thou hast not been informed of a Conspiracy, which appears to have been carried on in that City, to introduce the *Spaniards* into it, which the Republick will in no wise suffer.

The said Conspiracy is thus related : The *Marquis* of *Monterey* having finish'd the Time of his Government of *Naples*, and being embark'd with some Gallies, for his Return into *Spain*, came *incognito* into *Genoa*, having had a Conference in a Village near the Town with some of the Conspirators, to render himself Master of the Port, and afterwards built a Citadel upon the highest Side of the *Far*. Some of the most qualified were to open one of the Gates by Night,

and receive the Troops that should be dis-barked out of the Gallies. The Marquis of *Leganex*, Governor of *Milan*, promised to send to *Genoa* a Chain of Slaves, stronger and more numerous than ordinary, which, instead of consisting of Condemned Criminals, was to be composed of the bravest Officers of *Milan*; and some Nobles of the Accomplices, who were to share in the Treaty, were to receive the Troops, and come armed for the effecting of the Enterprize.

After a Design so well laid, the *Spaniards* were ready to execute so hardy an Undertaking; when the *Republick*, being suddenly advertised of the Plot, caused it to miscarry, without Noise, by redoubling the Guards, which did not a little surprize the Conspirators.

Cardinal *Richliu's* Creatures give out, that one *Doria*, call'd their Prince, did dissuade, or hinder the Plot, which was profitable for *Italy*, but contrary to our Interests; for thence undoubtedly had sprung a War, which would never have had End, whether betwixt the Subjects of this *Commonwealth*, who would have ruin'd each other, or *France* and *Spain*; and thou wilt also find, that in preferring the Liberty of their Country, and keeping the *Spaniards* at a Distance, they will maintain themselves still in a Condition advantageous for the *Commonwealth*, and necessary to the Crown of *Spain*.

They say, that the Constancy of *Doria* hath acquired the Honour of having twice saved the Liberty of his Country.

This *Doria* is descended from *Andrew Doria*, that Great Captain who did so many brave Actions against our Nation, commanded the Maritime Armies of *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany*; and since those of *Philip II.* his Son, King of *Spain*, and who often combated the Invincible *Ariaden*.

I do not believe that *Adonai*, who was at *Genoa*, hath writ this Adventure to thee; either because it may not be true, or because the Thing being very secret, it was in a manner stifled as soon as discover'd.

If thou wilt know the particular Reasonings, made
upc n

upon this Occasion, I will tell thee : That, the most advised *French* believe, that the *Spaniards* did attempt so fair a Blow ; but that the two Parties in the City, the one to preserve their Liberty, and the others to maintain their Authority, did both avoid the Conclusion.

The Discourse is at present various, concerning this *Republick* ; and the *French* do as much endeavour to make secret Treaties with it, as the *Spaniards* to hinder its Change of Masters. It being always of great Advantage to such who have Pretences in *Italy*, to be in good Correspondence with this Place, which may be termed the *Principal Port*.

The *French* make a great Noise with their Pretences upon *Genoa* ; and they, at present, revive many ancient Histories. They affirm, that the *Genoese*, when they had Differences amongst themselves, have oftentimes changed their Laws and their Masters ; and that they had been subjected to strange Powers : That Two *Charles's*, One *Lewis*, and *Francis I.* all Kings of *France*, have taken them into their Protection, having also subdued them by Force of Arms. They add, that this *Francis I.* continued a great while to send them Governors : And that it was by the Valour and Resolution of *Doria*, that this *Republick* recover'd its first Liberty.

These are the Discourses that People make at *Paris*, the Entertainment of idle Persons, as also of our Politicians. It will be a hard Matter to tell what the King thinks, and what are the Sentiments of his Council.

Consider in the mean time, with what Impudence People discourse here ; they presume to decide Affairs of State ; they decide and accommodate Differences ; they support and ruin Commonwealths and Kingdoms. But this is no new Thing, the People in all Times having taken the Liberty to censure the Actions of Sovereigns.

It is not for enlarging my Letter, that I write these Particulars of the History of *Genoa* ; but being an ancient Nation, which have formerly wearied the Cou-

rage of the *Romans* by their Enterprizes and Opposition, and have performed, upon our Seas, great and noble Actions: The *Osmons* have her therefore in Consideration; and the rather, because we possess many Countries, and considerable Places that were under their Dominion in *Asia minor*, upon the *Black Sea*, and in the *Archipelago*.

I shall ever recommend all thy Words and Actions to Almighty God, and pray to him to hinder thee from falling into Error, and to prosper all thy Undertakings.

Paris, 24th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXII.

To the same.

HENRY of Bourbon, first Prince of the Blood of France, marching by Bourdeaux, came upon the Frontiers of Spain, where he besieged Fontarabia, strongly seated upon the Brink of the Ocean. His Army is made up of 12000 Foot, and 1200 Horse. The two Nations have had several Encounters and Skirmishes, wherein the Loss and Gain have been equal on Land.

But the Spanish Affairs go so ill at Sea, that thou wilt wonder at the great Losses they received there. The French have burnt two Galleons upon the Stocks, that were making, and six others entirely finished, which had not been yet at Sea. They have farther taken eleven great Ships, whereof six were richly laden for the Indies; besides the Equipage and Munitions of War; with two old Galleons, that were of no great Use. They farther took a prodigious Number of Canons, which lay upon the Shore, 100 whereof were Brass, all with the Arms of Austria.

If all this I write be true, as I verily believe it is, we may say, that this Prize, were there no more than

than a Hundred and Fifty Pieces of Ordnance, was no mean Purchase.

I say nothing of the great Quantity of Artillery, mounted upon the Ships and Galleons, for fear of troubling thee with the News of a great Victory, wherein the *French* gain'd so many Vessels and such great Riches as will suffice to equip a great Fleet.

The Prince besieges the Place and presses it ; but the *Spaniards* defend themselves bravely, and much Blood will be shed there.

The Priest of *Bordeaux*, which these Infidels call the Archbishop, was come thither with 60 Sail ; whereof 42 are Men of War, and the rest Attenders ; with some Fireships, fill'd with bituminous Matter ; which enflames easily, to burn the Enemies Ships where they can come at them ; so that there is nothing wanting in the Armies by Sea or Land.

This Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, makes more Noise at present than the Pope ; and it is credible, That what he has done, will gain him great Favour with his King.

He has, with as much Courage, invested 14 Gallies, and 4 Frigates, which came from the Neighbouring Ports to the Relief of *Fontarabia*, with 3000 natural *Spaniards*.

He fought Six Hours together with this new Army, which he entirely defeated, having burnt and sunk all these Ships, except one Galley, which was stranded and render'd useless. The Admiral of *Spain*, with 800 Men, was blown up ; which was no small Misfortune to the *Spaniards*, who lost upon this Occasion a great Number of Soldiers and Seamen : And 'tis believ'd, they will not be able to appear before their Enemies at Sea this great while.

If so many Losses suffer'd by a Party, are not advantageous to the *Grand Signior*, because the other is grown so much the stronger thereby, he will however gain this Benefit by it, That the *French* and *Spanish* being both Enemies to our Nation and Religion, our Affairs will be in greater Security, when of two Enemies we see one suppressed.

The *French* publish by their Joy and continual Feastings, the Advantage they receive from these Successes. And these *Infidels* have Reason to rejoice, their Victory having all the Agreements possible; it is indeed great, and their Loss very inconsiderable.

They say there were but Twelve of the Ships of *France* disordered, and that they lost not above a Hundred Seamen, and very few Officers. Here hath been made a large Relation of this Victory; and 'tis engraven in Copper, to the end it may be made publick in all its Particulars, and the Memory of it conserv'd to future Ages. Since the loss of the *Armado*, surnamed *The Invincible*, which *Philip II.* sent into *England*, in the Year 1588, to make War upon a Woman, we have not known that *Spain* has suffer'd so great a Loss.

This is the only News I can tell thee at present. So many Armies as are in continual Action, will furnish Matter enough hereafter to divert thee, by reciting the Follies of these *Infidels*, who seem to destroy themselves daily, and ruin their Affairs to gratify Us by their Defeats, and make us triumph.

Paris, 27th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXIII.

To Afis, *Bassa*.

IF thou always followest thy Inclination, and thy natural Honesty, thou wilt be indefatigable in faithfully serving the *Sultan*, and thou wilt not be averse to him that esteems thee, and loves thee.

Read what I write to thee, and publish it when thou hast read it, that the Council may know, that it is resolved at the *Diet* held at *Stockholm*, the Residence of the King of *Sweden*, to continue the War against *Austria*; and that the Duke of *Weymar*, and the General *Bannier*, begin already to combat the *Imperialists*. Thou wilt

wilt see *Spain* and *Germany* attack'd on so many Sides, and by such powerful Enemies, that 'tis credible there may happen such vast Losses to all these *Christians*, that the *True Believers* will have Occasion to rejoice, and to hope yet the aggrandizing of the great and most mighty King of Kings *Sultan Amurath*, Master, and absolute Sovereign of both Seas, and Vanquisher of all Nations.

This King hath sent an Army into *Picardy*, under the Command of Marshal *Chatillon*, to besiege *St. Omer*, a very strong Place in *Artoise*, belonging to the *Spaniards*; several Villages and Towns of Consideration being already burnt and pillaged.

The faithful Slave *Mahmut* salutes thee; gives thee a friendly Kiss, and wishes thee all Sort of Prosperity.

Paris, 24th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Kaimacham.

THE King of *France* hath sent forth another Army. I have already inform'd thee, that this Prince hath already three Armies in three Parts of *Europe*. There is one in *Piedmont*, commanded by *Cardinal le Valette*; another whereof *Prine Henry* of *Conde* is *Generalissimo*, which they hope will quickly take *Fontarabia*; and another commanded by Marshal *Chatillon*, which besieges *St. Omer*.

The Duke of *Longueville*, is at the Head of the fourth, which is entred into *Burgundy*, with Design to ruin the *French County*, defended by Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, one of the Emperor's Generals.

So many Armies, and so many Captains march against the *Spaniards*. This Nation sufficiently manifests her Force. She is attack'd on all Sides, and resists and defends her self on all Sides. This vast Extent of Countries,

Countries, which the *Austrians* possess, tho' separated from each other, is the Reason that they are always employed in defending themselves; but they will be eternally exposed to Loss, without any Appearance of Gain.

Thou knowest, that the true Secret of preserving Union amongst the Good, is to entertain perpetual Differences amongst the Bad; and thou wilt see, that all the Adventures of this Country will render us Invincible. What I tell thee is a true Saying. The *French* at present are too powerful, with so many Troops, so many Armies by Sea and Land, which are seen in the Provinces of their Enemies.

The other *Christians* are in continual Apprehensions. The Ambassadors of Princes who reside in this Town and Court, observe with great Diligence so many extraordinary Things, but say nothing; they do like me, they write and advertise their Masters.

I am afraid thou wilt take no Pleasure in the Relations I make thee of the Successes of so great a Power; but I ought to let thee know the Truth. Affairs are carried on here with much Art. The Ministers serve with great Fidelity, and are very secret. Cardinal *Richlieu* hath an entire Ascendant over the King's Spirit; and, to say Truth, is a Person of great Merit. They say, he aspires to true Glory, and will place the Crown which *Charlemagne* wore, as Emperor of the *West*, upon his Master's Head. If the good Fortune of *France* marches always at this Rate, the Misfortunes of its Enemies must be excessive.

The manifold Wars which this Monarch undertakes, and *Richlieu* counsels him, do in the mean time make the People (who bear the Burthen, by the Taxes which they are forced to pay) murmur; besides their Grief for the Loss of their Parents and Friends slain in these Wars.

The Cardinal fears Peace, and apprehends his Enemies may destroy him, if they have Leisure to cabal against him. Thus he finds his Interest in the War, and Armies support his Authority.

I can-

I cannot yet make any certain Judgment of him, nor have a perfect Knowledge of his Manners, no more than of the Extent of his *Genius*, because the Man hides many Things during his Life with a Dress, which will be discovered when he dies. We cannot see which are his good Inclinations, and it is not easy to penetrate into a Discovery of the Vices which he is inclined to.

In few Words, he has much contributed to the Peace of *France*, divided by Diversity of Religion. He hath succoured *Italy*, and manifested there the Power of the King his Sovereign; has weakened the Empire of *Germany*. by the War he has carried into her Bosom by the joint Forces of the Princes of the *North*, and them of *France* at once; and no less weaken'd the Power of the King of *Spain*.

Thou that knowest every Thing that passes, and hast Intelligence from all Parts of the World, canst truly judge of Affairs; which makes thee know and foresee all that may prejudice the formidable Empire of the *Mussulmans*.

Paris 20th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXV.

To the Kaimacham.

ALL is in Peace here, the War being carried on Abroad. The Court continues to make Vows for the Queen's Health, and happy Delivery. They seem not so much concern'd for the King's Welfare as the Queen's; every Body being persuaded, that the Happiness of *France* depends on her safe Delivery.

I writ to *Chirurgi Mubamet*, that he should mention the Queen's being with Child as a doubtful Thing, and which might vanish; but at present, it is most certain; for she will shortly be brought to-bed.

She

She lives in great Repose for fear of hurting her self ; she scarce stirs out of her Bed-Chamber, and every Body endeavours to please her.

There is News, from *Provence*, of the arresting of a King's Son by that Governor. The Prisoner is Brother to *Uladislaus* King of *Poland*.

'Tis said, That the King of *Spain* had made Prince *Casimir* Viceroy of *Portugal*, in Recompence of the Troops of *Cossacks* he had formerly rais'd to defend the County of *Burgundy*. They add, that being embark'd at *Genoa*, upon one of the Gallies of that Republick, for *Spain*, to take Possession of the said Charge, with a small Train of Domesticks, and Count *Konickpolski*, who called himself *Uladislaus's* Ambassador, with the Marquis of *Gonzague* his Kinsman ; being arrived in *Provence*, and visiting with Care all the Ports and Fortresses : This gave no small Cause of Suspicion to the *French*. He staid four Days privately in *Marseilles* ; but his Galley was arrested at *Bouc*, the last Port of *France*, by Orders of the King.

'Tis not yet known what oblig'd *France* to make a Person of his Quality Prisoner, having nothing to do with *Poland* ; and King *Lewis XIII.* having no particular Pique against Prince *Casimir* : But the Secrets of State being only known to them that govern Kingdoms, I pretend to penetrate no farther, but content my self to write what they do, and what they say. Thou, who in the Absence of the *Vizir Azem*, art the Glory of his Highness's Council, art best able to discover the Reason of so extraordinary a Novelty.

The most knowing Persons at Court say, this Prisoner will suddenly be set at Liberty ; and that having no War that may authorize his Detention, it would be unjust to detain him.

The Event will teach me, who am ignorant, and them that would divine, that which perhaps no Body knows at present. May it please the Great GOD, Master and Sovereign Moderator of all Things, that the Intelligence and GuesSES which I give, may always be profitable and agreeable ; and that thy Life may be
of

of eternal Duration, for the Happiness of our Great Emperor and his Empire.

Thou shalt suddenly know whether Prince *Casimir* be retained longer in Prison, or set at Liberty. I would that King *Uladislaus* were in the same Misfortune in the Hands of the *Janizaries*; and that he, as well as his Kingdom, were Slaves to the invincible *Sultan*, King of Kings: To whose Power may it please the Divine Goodness, and the wisest of his *Prophets*, to subject all the Countries of the *Infidels*, and then to place him with his Wives and all the *Prophets* in his *Paradise*.

Paris, 20th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

L E T T E R X X V I.

To the Kaimacham.

HAVING given thee an Account of the Imprisonment of *Casimir*, I will relate to thee the Voyage of King *Uladislaus*, his Brother, who is gone a Progress into *Hungary* and *Germany*.

The News here is, that the King of *Poland* was gone to make a Visit to the King of *Hungary*; who, to do him Honour, sent the chief of his Nobles to receive him upon the Confines of *Moravia*.

They write also that Arch-Duke *Leopold* went from *Vienna* to meet him: They embraced like Brethren; and returned together with the Queen of *Poland* and her Sister, back to *Court*. 'Tis added, that the People received this Company with great Acclamations, with the Noise of the Cannon, and all the small Shot of the City.

The Day following, having dined in the *Imperial* Palace, they went together to *Luxemburgh*, to visit the Empress *Eleanor*, Widow to the late Emperor of *Germany*.

IF

If *Carcoa* hath not informed thee of these Particulars, thou wilt receive them from *Mahmut*, who watches incessantly to give true Intelligence, and penetrate as much as may be, into all that occurs and is done in this great Court, which gives Motion to all the Courts of *Europe*.

Reprove me if I do not well, and punish me if the Emperor be not well served, and thou satisfied.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXVII.

To Kerker Hussen, *Bassa*.

DO not accuse me of being ill-advis'd or negligent, if I write to thee Things that thou knowest already. I am only careful in telling thee what happens here, and my Business is not to enquire whether thou art better inform'd another Way. When I am ordered to write all that comes to my Knowledge, I do my Duty in doing it, and I ought not to be reprehended for it.

I am told, that the *Sultan* is gone with an Army, more numerous than all the Leaves on the * *Persians*. Trees, to destroy the * *Red Heads*, and conquer *Babylon*. I know that the *Mufti*, the *Grand Vizir*, and all the Grandees of the *Divan* followed him, but I am ignorant of what he did in his first Expedition when he took *Revan*.

An old *English* Merchant, who comes from *Ispahan*, and has serv'd in the Army of the faithful *Mussulmans*, passed this Way, in his Return to *England*. He hath been an Eye-Witness of the great Actions of *Amurath*. He says, that this mighty Emperor, after his taking of *Revan*, left 12000 Soldiers in Garrison there; with 200000 Crowns in Silver, besides Copper Money, to pay them.

He

He says also, That our mighty Monarch, being wearied to see so much Blood of the *Faithful*, yea, of the *Heretick Mussulmans*, spill'd, he had sent the King of *Persia* a Challenge, offering to fight singly in Duel with him; but he would not accept of his Defy.

He tells how *Amurath* being fallen into the Water, in passing the River *Haret*, was in great Hazard of being laid up in Expectation of the *last Judgment-Day*, in the *other World*, had it not been for a young lusty *Solack*, who took him by the Arm, and dragg'd him out of the River. This Accident was the Prelude of a great good Fortune, which happen'd to this mighty Prince upon the Bank of another River, called *Mako*, where he had the News of the Birth of a Son born to him in the *Seraglio* at *Constantinople*, whom they call *Alaaddin*; whose Nativity hath been celebrated with infinite Demonstrations of Joy.

This *Englisman* tells us farther, that *Amurath* has taken *Tauris*, and appear'd publickly there with all the Marks of a formidable Power; that he had destroyed the King of *Persia's Seraglio*, burnt the publick Mercats, and caused a Million of fine Trees, which renders the Loss irreparable, to be cut down.

Let me know, when thou art at leisure, whether this News be true, and do me the Favour to tell me our great Emperor's Success in the Expedition of *Babylon*. The Politicians here, attend the News of it with much Impatience. 'Tis allowed, that *Amurath* is the most potent of all Princes, the strongest Man alive, and, that only he can vanquish and ruin the Kings of the Earth.

Two Strangers of different Nations, and both of Royal Blood, are dead in this City. The one is Don *Christopher*, Son of Don *Antonio*, King of *Portugal*; who, after he had lived Sixty-six Years, without ever attaining the Crown of his Father, died in a Convent of *Dervises*, called *Cordeliers*, where he was buried, in the same Place where his Father's Brother had been formerly.

The

The other Stranger was called *Zaga Chriftos*, who was the legitimate Successor of the Kingdom of *Æthiopia*; a young Man of 25 Years, Son to the Empress *Nazarenne*, Widow of *Jacob*, Emperor of the *Abyssines*, who died in a Village near *Paris*. He quitted his Kingdom, as thou knowest. forced by Civil Wars, and arrived in *France*, in the Year 1635, of the *Hegira* of the *Christians*. After many Adventures he composed the History of his Travels, which he performed with Troubles and Incommodities which seemed insupportable.

What has he not suffer'd in traversing many Kingdoms, *Arabia the Desert*, *Ægypt*, *Asia Minor*, and *Jerusalem*, where he ran the Hazard of being arrested by the *Bassa* that resides there, whom he escaped, by retiring by Night to *Nazareth*, amongst the *Christian Dervises*, where he concealed himself five Moons.

He said here, that an Eunuch of the *Bassa* of *Cayro*, had much solicited him to forsake the *Christian Religion*, to which he would never consent; and refused to go to *Constantinople* to humble himself by prostrating his Face in the Dust of the *Grand Signior's Feet*; altho' the *Bassa* extremely press'd him to it, with very advantageous Offers.

This King has done much Honour to the *Manes* of the dead Prince, whilst perhaps he suffers everlasting Torments; which neither thou nor I shall suffer, if we always live like faithful *Mussulmans*, according to the Precept of the Law, ordained by *Mahomet*, and written in the *Alcoran*.

I shall gladly hear that thy Life is safe, and my Friendship agreeable to thee.

Paris, 20th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER

LETTER XXVIII.

To the Kaimacham.

THAT which hath been so long expected, is at length happen'd : The *Queen* is brought to-bed of a *Dauphin* ; the *King* is a *Father*, the *Kingdom* seems to desire nothing more, and the *People* witness their Joy by a thousand different Festivities.

The Men, the Women, the Children and the Aged run thro' the Streets as at *Bacchanals* :

They rejoice with their Friends, they go to Church, and thank *God*, as if a *Messiah* had been born to them.

All the Priests praised *God* in their Temples for such a Present ; and the *Monks* not so content, deafen the People with the Noise of their Bells, and do more than the Drums and Trumpets of the Soldiers, and all the Cannon of the *Citadel* and *Arsenal*. I did in Company of others, what I should not have dar'd to perform if I had been alone, or had been observ'd.

Those who affirmed the *Queen* would be brought to bed of a Son, pretend now they had been advertised by some *divine Revelation*, and will pass for *Prophets* ; and among these, there are many *Religious*. Observe how far their *Superstition* extends.

The *Court* has dispatch'd many *Expresses* into all the Provinces of *France*, and others have been sent to all the Ambassadors, to give Notice of his Birth to their respective Princes.

A Priest, who is a Bishop, hath baptized this Child without any Ceremony, in Presence of the *Chancellor* of *France*, the Princes, Princesses, and Grandees of the Kingdom ; the farther Solemnity being reserved for another Time.

The King commanded *Te Deum* to be publicly sung, being the Hymn which is usual to all *Christians*, to thank *God* for extraordinary Successes.

Nothing is seen in the Streets of *Paris*, but Bonfires, and Fountains of Wine, which run Day and Night.
The

The People testify their Joy ; and the Fires are so great on all Sides, that it looks as if the City were to be reduced to Ashes.

Amongst so many Subjects of Joy, the King has wherewith to afflict him, having been for some Days tormented with a violent *Tertian Ague* ; and it cannot be, but he must have his Spirits agitated with so many Wars at once. He has Armies against *Spain* in *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Burgundy*, and the Empire in *Germany* ; without mentioning his Naval Forces, and the Designs and Pretensions which he doth not yet declare. Thou may'st be confident that Leagues will be form'd against him, and Conspiracies against his State. The great ones of the Kingdom are not asleep ; having long since had Designs to humble the Favourites and Ministers, whose Deportments displeased them, and to make themselves Masters of Affairs and the Government.

I have a Piece of News to tell thee ; but receive it as coming from a Woman, not *Mahmut*. I seldom send that for assured, which in appearance is not Truth. What I am going to say, will undoubtedly seem ridiculous.

The Women give out, that the *Dauphin* has Teeth, and the Nurses will witness it. Those who easily believe Wonders, publish this as a most certain Truth. The People who add Faith to the most incredible Things, raise Stories upon this, and are full of pretended Auguries.

But there being no Law that obliges us to believe that which we find incredible, thou mayest therefore receive this News as thou pleasest, and look upon it as useless, and excuse me.

They give the King the Title of Saint, which they add to that of *Just*, because of his great Piety, in devoting his Son, before he was born, to the *Virgin*, (which the *Christians* say is the Mother of their *Messiah*) with his Kingdom, People and Person, which he hath put under the Protection of the Mother of his God ; which he has made appear by Prayers, Processions, and extraordinary Alms.

This

This Ceremony is ordinary enough with these *Infidels*; who by an inexcusable Idolatry, devote their Towns and dedicate their Temples to Men that are dead, whom they call Saints; worshipping them afterwards upon their Altars, invoking them in their Distress.

I have nothing more at present to write to thee: God give thee always the Grace to be just to thyself and others.

Paris, 16th of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER XXIX.

To the Captain Bassa.

THE Birth of the *Dauphin of France* happen'd this Month, whereof I forthwith advertised the *Kaimacham*. I find myself in a great City where they feast continually, to testify the Love they have for the King, the Queen, the young Prince, and the State.

Joy spreads equally; the most miserable, to whom Fortune has given nothing but Tears, do now divert themselves.

The Women rejoice yet most; and, it seems this Adventure regards them principally. There is not one of 'em that would not lie in; all the Maids would be Mothers, and the most advanced in Years do not now despair.

It seems here, that God only hears the Prayers of the *French*; for they believe the Queen had never been with Child, if the People were not holy. Thus all believe, that they owe it to a Miracle of *Heaven*, not of *Nature*, that a Child is born, and for that Reason he is called *Given of God*.

If this be so, thou must conclude, this Prince will be very great, and much to be redoubted, who hath God for his Father, and is Heir of a great Kingdom. To say

say the Truth, *France* was never so flourishing, besides the great Armies they entertain by Sea and Land.

But that which appears most important to me, is, their vanquishing the *Hugonots*, and defeating the Rebels. The Birth of a Successor, does much heighten these Advantages, and causes a great Happiness to this Kingdom. I have my Share in the Feasting, being obliged to do as others : For to what Purpose should I appear afflicted ?

Before I relate to thee a bloody Combat of Gallies, which was fought in the Sea of *Genoa*, I will inform thee of a ludicrous one in that of *Marseilles*, which resembled those Spectacles the ancient *Romans* exhibited with so much Pomp and Magnificence, called *Naumachies*.

The Count of *Alais*, Governor of *Provence*, caused four Gallies Two against Two, to combat, first with Cannon, and afterwards with Small Shot ; and lastly, to board with Swords and Pikes, which was a fatal Presage for two Nations, who ran in Search of each other through all the Ocean, and exhibited a sad Spectacle by Battles, where a Number of valiant Men were seen to perish.

Five and Twenty *Spanish* Gallies appeared on the Coasts of *Provence*, where it was said they were come to surprize some Maritime Place. But the Count of *Harcourt*, General of the Armies of the *Levant*, for the King, having given them Chace, some of them retired to the Coasts of *Genoa* ; where they were attack'd by a like Number of those of *France*, which had still followed them since they were seen before *Marseilles*.

It was the first of this *Moon* that they fought. Never appeared more Valour ; never was a Combat more terrible ; and 'tis scarce conceivable what Blood was shed. Thou who art a great Captain, and excellent Seaman, may'st easily guess.

These Thirty Gallies having begun their Combat with their Cannon and Musquets, the Sea was in a little time colour'd with Blood, and covered with dead Bodies. Each Galley having singled out his Enemy,
the

the Fight was the more bloody and obstinate. 'Tis said, this Battle was seen from the Walls and Tops of Houses in *Genoa*, which were crouded with Spectators ; and looked on with the same Concern, as if they had fought for the Empire of *Italy*.

The Victory cost much Blood ; which the *French* pretended to, seeing they took six Gallies from their Enemies, amongst which was *The Royal Patron of Spain*, the Captain, and the Patron of *Sicily*, with Eight Hundred Prisoners ; having themselves lost but Three Gallies, which were taken by the *Spaniards*. The following Night there arose so violent a Tempest, that the Sea had well nigh swallowed the Victorious and the Vanquished. The *French* lost the *Royal Patron of Spain*, which breaking loose, retir'd into a little Port of the River of *Genoa*, where the Inhabitants of *Arenzano* seizing it, restored it to the *Spaniards*, which, they say here, the *French* will not fail to revenge.

I am persuaded that all I write to thee is true, because I have it from disinterested Hands, and such as know the Truth of what passes.

They add only, that the Gallies of *Spain* having more Slaves and Soldiers, the Victory of the *French* was by so much the more glorious ; and they affirm, that the other had Two Thousand Foot extraordinary, designed for *Milan*.

God give thee always Victory over thy Enemies, and make thee feared of all the World.

Paris, 24th of the 9th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

L E T T E R X X X.

To the same,

THEY do here so highly magnify their Successes, as also those of the Allies of the Crown of *France*, that I know not what to believe, these Exag-
E gerations

generations being so contrary to the Glory of the *Os-mans*. Having given thee an Account of the Fight betwixt the Gallies of *France* and *Spain*, I will at present inform thee of the Advantage, they say, the Gallies of *Malta* have had.

They affirm, that this Squadron has defeated a very great Galley of the *Bassa* of *Tripoli*, laden with great Store of rich Merchandize. We know well, that this Vessel and her Lading are of good Value ; but not so great as the *Infidels* publish. They say farther, that they took upon the Coast of *Calabria* two great Vessels, and a *Polagu*, commanded by *Bicoce*, Admiral of *Tripoli*, who is a *Renegado* of *Marseilles*. They say there were two hundred *Turks*, three hundred and fifty Prisoners taken, and fifty *Christian* Slaves set at Liberty. If what they say is true, there were also a great many Brass Cannon in these Ships. They confess, that the *General* of these Gallies, did all that was to be expected from a valiant Man, altho' he had the Gout ; and that they lost but eight Knights.

Thou, who knowest the Truth of this Adventure, punish so great a Lye. 'Tis true, that the *Christians* have taken the Vessels in Question, but it is not true, that their Advantage hath been so great as they make it ; seeing there were no Brass Cannon, but a few *Christians* delivered ; and, they having lost much more than they acknowledge.

Thou art valiant, thy Employment gives thee the Command of the Sea ; root out of the World this little Nest of obstinate Pirates, who breathe but by the Goodness of *Amurath*, whose Clemency hinders their Destruction.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Month,
of the Year 1638.

The End of the First Book.

LETTERS

Writ by

A SPY *at* PARIS.

BOOK II.

LETTER I.

To the Captain Bassa.

WHY wilt thou be more cruel than a Serpent, and give me Poyson, when I send thee so good Antidotes, to preserve thee from the Mischiefs, with which thou mayest be overwhelmed? If thou beest not satisfied with my Friendship, be at leastwise with the Sincerity wherewith I have given my Advice. Thy Proceeding, I must confess, makes me repent I did not take another Course: I should thereby in all Probability, have put a Stop to all thy ill Practices. Had I made known to the *Grand Vizir*, what I wrote to thee from *Vien-na*, I should have received Thanks for my Care and Diligence, and thy Chastisement might have been of good Example: But I tell thee plainly now, that I shall be obliged to accuse thee of Treason, in case thou continuest thy Commerce with the Emperor of *Germany's* Secretary.

What Interpretation wouldst thou have me give the Correspondence thou holdest with this Minister; when

I discover that he sends thee continually Presents, and receives the same from thee: Be persuaded, every Time thou appearest favourable to the *Christians*, that the Pleasures thou dost them, render thee Criminal to the *Mussulmans*. For, in fine, what's the Meaning of those *Persian* Horses, those *Hungarian* Slaves which thou sentest, and that Quantity of magnificent Vests which thou presentedst to thy Friend? What wouldst thou have a Man think of that Silver *Hercules*, and Clock enrich'd with *Pearls*, which one of the *Faithful* receives from an Enemy of our *Holy Law*? It signifies nothing to answer my Letters with Passion and Raging: Go to the Tribunal, where these kind of Questions are to be decided; the Judge will tell thee whether such a Commerce is lawful even in Times of Peace. Thou much exaggeratest the Obligations thou hast to thy Friend at *Vienna*, because he used thee well, when thou wert his Prisoner of War: To this it is easy to answer, *That if he behav'd himself like a Gentleman, thou oughtest to imitate him, like a good Mahometan. Should he happen to be thy Prisoner, take then thy Revenge, and endeavour to requite him.*

Again, supposing it should be discovered, that this thy Friend has presented thee with this famous Cypher compos'd with such Ingenuity, that it may be fitly called Art's Master-piece; what Opinion can the *Mussulmans* have of thy Fidelity? 'Tis known with what Application thou us'dst it to write into *Germany*, and to decypher the Answers which thou receivest. Are not these sufficient Signs to shew, that the Dispatches thou writest, and their Answers, are like the *Trejan* Horse, concealing abominable and dangerous Mysteries? Be persuaded, that I had not writ to thee from *Germany*, the Letter which has so greatly offend'd thee, on simple Conjectures. The Secretary thy Friend said one Day, he must be a Witch or a Devil that can discover the Artifice of these Characters; that an *Italian*, who was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, had wrought twenty Years to meliorate this Art, and had brought it to such great Perfection, that
he

he never saw any Body that could understand his Letters with the Key it self, which he gave them. 'Tis said that this Invention is wholly New ; and the more admirable, that a Letter of an ordinary Style, of Domestic Affairs, of Love and Compliments, may contain Secrets of the greatest Importance, without using equivocal Expressions, particular Characters, Figures, suppos'd Names, Hieroglyphicks, Juice of Herbs, or Liquors ; it being impossible ever to discover what one designs to hide. He adds, that one may write in *Turkish, Arabian, French or Italian*, and conceal a Secret written in any Tongue whatever.

Thy Friend carries it yet farther, and says, he could make use of *Verses* to decypher *Prose* : And this audacious Man affirm'd one Day in the Emperor's Antichamber, that he could put into *French* this horrible Blasphemy, *The Tyrant Amurath will soon die* ; which is found in the following Verses of an *Italian* Poet, whereof he immediately made a Proof : And these are the *Italian* Verses.

*Giace l'Alta Cartago, a pena i Segni
De l'alte sue ruine il lido serba
Muiono le citta, muiono i Regni
Cuope i fasti, e le pompe arena & herba
Et l'huom di esser mortal parche si
O nostra mente cupida, & superba sdegni.*

If it appears that I am too sharp against thee, I will receive thy Curses without Reply : But if thou knowest I have had just Reasons to write to thee, as I have done, why are thy Answers so full of Injury ? Think better on thy Interest, and be always faithful, if thou intendest a long Life.

Paris, 4th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER II.

To the same.

THE small Success which we always meet with at Sea, obliges me to entertain thee thereon. I shall take no Notice of this to the other Grandees of the *Porte*, no not to the *Kaimacham*, to whom I have not written these three Posts. If thou hast received my two last Letters, thou oughtest to be satisfied with the Care which the faithful *Mahmut* takes to give thee sound Advice. Consider well all the Circumstances which are related here, concerning the Sea Affairs.

The Loss of so many Gallies, great Ships, and other Vessels made this Year, by the Friends of the Empire, the *True Faithful*, do much lessen the Reputation of the *Ottoman* Greatness.

The Discourses made hereon by the *Christians*, are so many Invectives against the Honour of *Amurath*, against thine, and that of our Nation. If it be by a Decree of Heaven, that these *Venetian* Pirates have taken this Year all the Gallies of *Africk*, we must then conclude, that *God* is offended with us, and does not hear our Prayers. For my Part, I believe it; but I should not be a good *Mussulman*, should I pretend to understand the Secrets of Providence.

They write from *Marseilles*, that the People of *Tunis*, *Bizerte*, and *Algiers*, are greatly dismay'd at the Loss of their fifteen Gallies, which General *Capello* has taken from them this Year. Thou knowest how the Business has happen'd; the Fraction of the Treaties manifest to all the World, as well as the Insultings over the Forts of the *Grand Signior*. I cannot imagine what Excuses the *Senators* of this *Republick* can make for what their Admiral has maliciously done against us, when they shall be obliged to give an Account of their Actions at the Feet of *Amurath*. I speak to thee with all possible Humility, and thou needest not doubt but I speak

Speak with Zeal. I believe it is time for thee to oppose and put a Stop, not only to the Piracies of these People, but the Incursions and continual Enterprizes of the Corsairs of *Malta*, and so many Vessels which infest our Seas, under the Banner of the Duke of *Tuscany*, and other *Infidel* Princes. Thou oughtest to succour those People which are Friends and Tributaries to the *Porte*, whose Assistance thou hast often advantageously used; neither dost thou want means for this, having at thy Disposal, the terrible Forces, entrusted to thee by *Amurath*, and, with these, the magnanimous Courage givee to thee by *Nature*.

The *Christians* have vowed to pierce this Year, into the *Bosphorus*, and put all to Fire and Sword. Above sixty *French* Knights are determin'd for *Malta*, to join themselves with their Comrades, to cruize our Seas with them. And thou knowest the Resolution or Courage of this *Militia*, and the Progress they every Day make.

Believe what *Mahmut* tells thee. Thou hast two Seas to keep, and if it be true, thou hast made *Ali-Piccinino*, to come from *Africk* with so many Gallies, designed for the keeping of the Coasts of *Barbary*, 'tis not to be doubted, but the *Divine Providence* has ordered, (it concerning so greatly *Amurath's* Honour) that the Guilty be pursued, so that not one of them may escape his Vengeance.

All People say here, that *Piccinino* has lost his Army for want of good Conduct. However, here are great Rejoicings at our Losses; and, if possible, more in *Italy*, where they feel the Advantage of so considerable a Prize at the same time, together with the Honour of the Victory; and where we are hated more than in any Place else besides. I beseech *God* to chastise these People by thy Hand; and that the Edge of thy Cymitar, in giving Death to our Enemies, may put an End to Slander and Slanderers.

Here's an impudent Fellow, who reports he has seen thee several times at *Constantinople*. He with great Confidence affirms, the *Christian* Corsairs will bring thee

thee one Day, laden with Chains, into the *Asenal* of *Venice*, or that of *Malta*. He grounds his Prediction on that thou art, says he, furious when thou commandest; and that being too forward, thou canst not obey the Orders given thee. He adds, that *Tobacco*, Love of Boys, Wine, and Women, drive thee twice a Day into a Condition uncapable of exercising thy Reason. He moreover says, thou wantest Courage in a Land-Fight, neither art well skill'd in Sea-Combats. I would not write these Fooleries to thee, were I not persuaded that they really are so, and that thou wantest neither Courage nor Experience. I am moreover persuaded of the Malignity of thy Accusers, touching the Debaucheries I mention'd; and it appears to me more pertinent to write thee this, than to the *Grand Vizir*; though I must confess, I am enjoined to inform the Ministers of the *Porte*, of whatever I hear, without any Reserve.

'Tis said, that as to what concerns the *Republick* of *Venice*, and *Capello*, who commands its Navy, that this *General* will be punished for doing too well; that this puissant State will be humbled to the kissing of the Stirrup of our great Emperor's Horse; but it will justify the Lawfulness of the Prize, which this *General* made, as being no Breach of the Treaty with the *Sublime Porte*, whence comes the Orders by which the World is to be governed; and that, in fine, the Pirates of *Africk* are not comprehended in the Treaties of Peace made with his *Highness*.

And it is moreover alledged, that should this *Republick* be obliged to restore those Gallies, which she has taken, 'twill appear, they have been lost through several Accidents.

All *Christendom* is persuaded, there's no *Republick* in the World governed with greater Prudence; which will make her avoid all Occasions of Difference with the *Porte*, and seek all Ways of Reconcilement with *Amurath*, to prevent a War which cannot be for her Interest.

I hap.

I happen'd into a Company of discreet Persons, who blame *Ali Piccinino's* Conduct, and attribute his Misfortune to his want of Skill, and to his Rashness. They affirm, that had he had the Courage of a true Soldier, he would have behaved himself not only in the *Archipelago*, but in the *Adriatick* Sea, like a Captain, and not like a Thief; and that *God* has given him this Mortification as a Punishment for the Cruelty he shewed to the innocent *Vestals*, whom he made Slaves at *Calabria*, together with a great Multitude of old Men and Children; which was an Act no ways suitable to a brave Commander. And this is the Discourse caused by the Hatred of our Nation, and especially to *Ali*.

The Great *God*, Sovereign Moderator of all Things, keep thee in perfect Judgment, and make thy Valour renowned, and thy Glory proclaimed in all Places enlightened by the Beams of the Sun.

Paris, 6th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER III.

To the same.

I Wrote to thee Yesterday, what the Sense of the World was of thee; and I write to thee this Day what is mine.

Although thou askest not my Advice, yet I will give thee such, as, perhaps, thou wilt approve of, and may be useful to thee in due Season.

Wilt thou be revenged of the *Venetians*, and all the *Christians* at once? Pass over into the *Adriatick* Seas, with twenty small Gallies; draw near at Night to the Shore at *Ancoa*. And before the Sun be up, ransack the famous Place of *Loretto*; thou may'st carry away thence as great Booty, as ever the *Consuls* and *Roman* Emperors did elsewhere.

Could'st thou conceive the immense Riches shut up in a little Chamber, (where the *Christians* affirm, that a Virgin received an Ambassador from Heaven, under the Form of an Angel; after whose Words she found she had conceived the *Messias*, whom the *Christians* worship) thou would'st not defer the executing of what *Mahmut* counsels thee.

'Tis reported in this Kingdom, as if *Piccinino* had such a Design. Why did not this brave Spark then execute what he had so well contrived? When he was in *Africk*, he was to ravage all *Italy*; and he had no sooner come on those Coasts, but he lost all the true *African* Courage. He let himself be taken Prisoner; he suffered a mighty Fleet to be lost, and the Shamefulness of his Defeat will for ever blast his Name.

If *Amurath* returns a Conqueror to *Babylon*, which is very likely to happen, and thou takest *Loretto*; it may be said, that the *Ottoman* Empire is arrived at its full Height, *Loretto* being the *Mecha* of the *Christians*.

There is no Season, wherein one sees not arrive an infinite Number of *Pilgrims* from all Parts; who come to offer there their Devotions, with the same Zeal as the *Faithful* go and pray at the Tomb of our *Holy Prophet*; and they often join with their Prayers, Offerings of considerable Value. A small Number of Priests of the *Roman Church* have such Treasures there in their keeping, as cannot be fully valued: Vessels of both Gold and Silver, with Vestures and Ornaments, and precious Stones, which serve to set forth this Temple, the most magnificent and famous amongst the *Christians*; an infinite Number of Lamps, Crowns and Scepters offered by the greatest Princes of the *Christian* Belief; and, in fine, whatever can be imagined most beautiful, most great and costly. Thou that knowest not what Fear is, thou canst foresee nothing in this Enterprize which may deter thee. The Priests of this famous Temple sleep all the Night long, and spend the Day in chanting their *Masses*, and the Soldiers designed for the keeping of this Place, are few in Number, and can make but small Resistance: If
thou

thou beest persuaded of the Truth of what I write, do more than *Cæsar* ; go, conquer, and repose thy self. I have no more to write to thee : I send the *Kaimacham* a Copy of this Letter. I have writ thee whatever has come to my Knowledge, and thou would'st farther know, what *Mahmut*, under the Habit of *Titus*, has discoursed at *Paris*. I am willing to inform thee, I have answered some People, who have had the Boldness to say, *That the Ottoman Empire will soon be ruin'd, should it receive such another Blow ; that if Trees be not wanting in Asia, the Mahometans will not want Ships nor Gallies ; and that they will have as many Soldiers and Seamen as they please, if the Women do not happen all of them at once to be barren.* Thou knowest that after the Battle of *Lepanto*, wherein the Great God and our Prophet design'd to mortify the Faithful ; that *Selim's* Favourite maintain'd the Glory of his Master, in thus speaking to the Bailo of *Venice* : *There is this Difference between the Losses which the Republiek makes, and the Misfortunes which happen to the Mussulmans ; that when we took from you the Island of Cyprus, we cut off one of your Arms ; and when you defeated us in Battle, 'twas just as if you had cut off our Beards, which will soon grow up again ; and if Women and Trees do not fail us, we shall soon have Ships and Men ; but the Loss of your Arm can never be repaired.*

The Eternal Lord, without whom nothing can subsist, make the Sea always navigable, and without Tempests, that the Winds may favour thy Designs ; and when thou hast finish'd all thou oughtest, for the Glory of the Empire, I pray Heaven make thee Possessor of the Infidels Countries, which thou shalt subdue.

Paris, 20th of the 14th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER IV.

To the Kaimacham.

THIS Letter will perhaps prove troublesome to thee, wherein thou wilt find an odd Mixture; however, thou wilt have no Cause to complain of me: for, whatever I write to thee, shall be put into such Order, that if the *first* News be troublesome to thee, the *last* will prove otherwise. Thou hast received none of my Letters in the last Packets which I sent to thee; and I have found it more to the Purpose to make thee know at once, tho' somewhat later, what I could not write but at three times; whereby thou wilt be better informed than others, to whom I wrote the first Notices I had. There's nothing like to Patience, as in all other Things, so more especially as to what concerns News; the lame Post always bringing the best Intelligence.

However, I hope thou wilt pardon me, if I wrote only to one Person, who is the Captain *Bassa*, those disagreeable Things which I heard, that I might not make a new Recital, which would not please; besides that he is obliged, as well as the other *Ministers* of the *Porte*, to impart to thee the Advices he receives from me.

Thou wilt find by the Copy of the Letter which I have written, that 'tis not without Reason I am angry with him. My Design is not to teach thee, what thou knewest probably before me, but what thou may'st be ignorant of, and yet oughtest to know.

The *Christians* express continually their Hatred against us, always speaking ill of our Affairs. Altho' there be no War declared between these *Infidels*, and the ever invincible *Sultan*; yet they cease not to be our Enemies; and thou may'st know by their Discourse, they are ever laying Designs against us. Thou knowest, the usual Way of the World is to discourse first of Affairs,

Affairs, and then take their Resolutions. The *French* are generally excepted from this Rule, for they have executed their Designs before they began to speak of them ; so lively is their Imagination, and so ready are they to take their Resolutions. They do in Affairs of State, what we are wont to do in those of Religion ; they decide them by the Sword. They affirm, that Princes who have Valour, have no juster Tribunal than War ; and that their Soldiers are their Lawyers. What Measure then, most wise *Kaimacham*, can be taken with a Nation which is in continual Activity ? The *French* cannot remain at Rest ; and when they disturb not their Neighbours, they make War amongst themselves. The Ministers of Foreign Princes, who do, near the matter, what I do, although they have a Character which I have not, are incessantly in Action : They watch without ceasing, as I do, on what passes ; and thou may'st assure thyself that the *Divan* shall be fully and certainly advertised of all Things.

The *Pope* keeps here, as his Ambassador, a Prelate, called a *Nuncio*. The Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, those of England, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland ; the *Electors*, and several other Princes of the Empire, entertain also Ambassadors, to observe the Motions of this Prince, who often breaks all their Measures. The States of Italy do also the same. There are, in this Part of Europe, Princes and Republics : These little Sovereigns are more jealous than others, of their Interests ; and do more concern themselves in all Affairs which pass. The Republics likewise use greater Precautions in their Conduct, than the Monarchs do.

The Republic of Venice has acquired a greater Reputation ; France keeps a good Correspondence with her ; the Ambassador of that State living here with all the Marks of Grandeur, and the same Prerogatives granted to those of crowned Heads. Neither Persia nor Muscovia, keep any publick Minister here, yet, perhaps, they may have some that give private Intelligence to their Masters. As to what concerns the Princes of the

the

the *Indies*, they seem not to me to have any Interest here ; so that they have, I believe, no Agent in these Parts, either *publick* or *private*. If the Name of *Spy* be mean or dishonourable, I know no Body that is called one ; for I being unknown, my Reputation therefore runs no Hazard. I serve, without being observed. But to speak plainly, what are the Ambassadors and Agents of Princes, but *secret Spies*, as I am, who under a pretence of keeping Correspondence between their Masters, inform them of what they can discover in the Courts where they are sent.

Thou shalt be sufficiently informed by the *Bassa* of the Sea, of *Piccinino's* Adventure ; he will shew thee what I have written. However, there are sixty Gallies lost ; and our greatest Consolation is, that we shall not want Means to be revenged : If the *Christians* have cut off one of our Fingers, we ought to pluck out both their Eyes.

'Tis said here, that this *Admiral* is made Prisoner by the *Venetians* : If this be true, his Confinement must be very uneasy to him. But, all People are not agreed, whether he be a Prisoner or no ; for some maintain, he is at *Constantinople*, where he justifies himself with his usual Arrogance ; laying all the Fault on the *Renegado*, who commanded the *Admiral* of *Algiers*.

I have recommended to the *Bassa* of the Sea, the Enterprize of *Loretto*. If thou hast Leisure to examine the Project, thou wilt find, though I am no Captain nor Mariner, what I have hinted is worth regarding. The Knowledge which I have of the World, of the Manner of Living of the *Christian* Princes, and Priests of *Rome* ; together with the other Notices I have acquired, by reading of Histories, should make me considered, as a Man that is able to offer at great Things ; though I have not as yet gain'd much Credit in the World.

The Ambassador of *Venice*, residing in this Court, says, that their *Republick* will satisfy the *Grand Signior* ; affirming, That *Ali* is a Pirate ; that the *Africans* have broken

broken the Peace; and, that the Action of their General *Capello*, is just and heroical; and, that *Amurath* himself will chastise *Piccinino*. He moreover pretends that the Gallies which were taken, will not be restored, seeing it will be made apparent, that they have been lost by different Accidents: I think he says, they have been all sunk before the Isle of *Corfou*, by the Senate's Order, to prevent the Expectation of a Surrender, the Admiral of *Algiers* only excepted, which those *Infidels* have brought in Triumph into their *Arsenal*, to preserve the Remembrance of an Event, which they pretend to be very glorious to them. But these Misfortunes are not extream, nor past Remedy, if God continues the Life of our Great Emperor, and thy Health.

Paris, 7th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER V.

To the same.

THEY have at length given over talking of our Losses, but I give not over devising the Means to be revenged of the *Christians*. Remember, that the *Grand Vizir* keeps in Prison a Man fit for great Things at this Time, who can do the *Nazarenes* considerable Mischiefs, and procure notable Advantage to the *Mussulmen*. If the old *Renegado* of *Dalmatia* be yet alive, he is capable of destroying all Places in the *Mediterranean Sea*. Advise with him about the Destruction of *Loretto*. There is no *Corfairy* that has done more bold Exploits. He has spent Sixty Years in coursing on the *Archipelago* and *Adriatick Sea*; where he has made horrid Devastations, with infinite Prizes. He has likewise most considerably damnified the *Cossacks*, on the *Black Sea*. He began the Trade at nine Years old in a little Vessel, has been wounded on
twenty,

twenty, or twenty two Occasions, taken Prisoner four times by our Pirates, and thrice escaped out of their Hands. And not being able to fly the fourth time, nor redeem himself by Money, he redeemed himself by his Religion, which he quitted to embrace ours; and since he has been circumcised, he has brought to *Constantinople* above thirteen thousand Slaves in about thirty Years Space. He has pass'd full five Years in the Cleft of a Rock, along the Banks of the *Adriatick Sea*; which by his Industry he made a sure Place of Retreat. Here 'twas that he hid himself with his Men and Vessel, like a wild Beast in his Den; and 'tis hard to imagine how many Snares he laid during that Time, for those of his own Religion. He has been often pursued, but could never be taken; and his Name became so terrible amongst the *Christians*, that there was no Place but dreaded him. But, in fine, having, as 'tis said, attempted to betray his Master, in delivering into the *Christians* Hands the five Gallies he commanded; he was sent, by Order from the *Grand Vizir*, into the Castle of *Seven Towers*, although his Crime was not certainly proved. 'Twas about two and fifty *Moons* since he has been there kept Prisoner; and he is not only very old, but decrepid. The long Penance which a Man has undergone that has done such great Things, and who accused of having done one ill One, of which he is not convicted, does plead for some Indulgence.

I shall never go about to solicit for the Liberty of a Traitor; yet I must say, that Men who have dared to execute great Crimes, are often capable of Heroick Actions. This Man was, and is still, at the End of his Life; perhaps, if thou wilt endeavour to procure him some Advantage, and make him hope still greater, he may repair his Fault, by performing something for the Good of the *Empire*; or at least give some good Advice. Thou knowest the *ancient Persians* had a Law, whereby their Kings were obliged, Not to put a Malefactor to Death for one Crime; and private Persons not to chastise their Domesticks or Slaves for one Fault.

Fault. Thou knowest moreover, that Princes should observe in the Chastisement of their Subjects, whether the Services they had render'd have not been greater than their present Failings, and pardon them if their good Deeds surpass'd their bad. These Laws, altho' no longer observ'd in *Persia*, yet cease not to be wise Precepts ; to which if thou hast no Regard, yet thou wilt have some to the Zeal and Affection of *Mahmut*. And if thou wilt suffer me to make here a short Digression, in comparing the State wherein we are with that of the Ancients, thou wilt find how much our *Monarchy* surpasses all others. Dost thou believe, generous *Kaimacham*, that the *Ottoman Empire* is equal, inferior, or superior to that of the *Romans* in *Pompey's* Time ? Let us content our selves with supposing it equal, to speak without Passion, and cut the Course of Disputes, which might be made hereupon ; and reflect, I pray thee, on the Conduct which *Pompey* held in the War he made against those infinite Numbers of Pirates which infested the Seas of *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Asia*. He was made *General* of an Army of five hundred Sail, with absolute Power to do what he thought fitting, without giving any Account. Thou knowest his Conduct was so prudent and full of Valour, that embarking with ten thousand and twenty Foot, and six thousand Horse, he in forty Days cleared *Lybia*, *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Sardinia* ; and, in a Word, all the Seas which depended on the *Roman* Power, from an infinite Number of Pirates, who had, as it were, besieged the Capital of the Empire by their Incurfions, Rapines and Violences.

Now, although the Number of our Enemies be not so great, nor their Strength so considerable ; yet 'tis to be feared, lest the *Infidels* be one Day bold enough, (having join'd their Forces, which are now disperfed) to fall upon us, and shake the vast *Monarchy* of the *Ottomans*, which they now often disturb by frequent Enterprizes in several Parts.

We have an infinite Number of Places to preserve :
We have several Kingdoms, populous Isles : We command

mand warlike Nations, and the Number of the Empire's Subjects are innumerable, which ought to encourage us to undertake no less than *Pompey* did heretofore, who was called the *Agamemnon* of *Italy*, because he commanded a numerous Fleet, as this *Hero* of the *Greeks* formerly did. But it being already Midnight, I am forced to finish this Letter, lest it should be too late for the Post.

I shall inform thee by the first Opportunity of what has happen'd in *Italy* and *Germany*, and of several other Things which I thought I ought to give thee Notice of by this *Express*; but accuse me not of Neglect, in not having written all to thee in this Letter, and receive my Excuse, which is just and sincere, and grant me thy Favour.

The Great God increase thy Prosperity, and continue thy Health and Credit in the Dominions of the invincible *Sultan*, under whose glorious Reign we live.

Paris, 7th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER VI.

To the same.

I Pass immediately into *Montserrat*, without leaving *France*, to tell thee, that the *Spaniards* have there made themselves Masters of a little Town, which the *French* could not keep for want of Men; and have also demolished the Fortrefs which guarded the Place, that their Enemies might not have any Desire after a Reprisal.

The eldest Son of *Amadeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, is now dead; he was call'd *Lewis Amadeus*; he was but seven Years old when declared Sovereign, and was so but few *Moons*. He died four Days after the Ceremony of his Baptism. The King of *France* and the Queen of *Spain* were Godfather and Godmother to
this

this Prince. Thou wilt ask me perhaps how this could be, seeing they could not be there present? But thou must know, that these *Nazarenes* assist often at these Ceremonies by Procuration. The Duchefs of *Savoy* seems to me worthy of Compassion, having lost in one Year both her Husband and her Son, and a good part of her Estate, and sees what remains to her exposed to the Hazards of War; but she has ever shewed her self a Woman of Courage and Resolution. Her second Son has been declared his Brother's Heir, and the *State* have chose her Regent during his Minority.

The Reason of the sudden Visit, which the *Elector* of *Saxony* gave the King of *Hungary*, is not yet known: We have had Advice of his Departure from *Dresden*, the Capital Town of his Country, with a great Train of Courtiers, and the three Princes his Sons; and that he went to *Leutmaritz*, where th's King expected him; and 'tis further said, that in the small Time they were together, they have had several Conferences, the Subject of which is not yet discovered. The King has presented the Duke with a rich Coach, with six stately Horses, sumptuously harnessed; and given Diamonds and Gold Chains to his Courtiers. But thou being nearer the Place of this Conference, and the *Porte* having every where subtle Agents, thou may'st sooner get this Secret than I: For 'tis not to be doubted, but there's something hatching against the *Ottoman* Empire, while *Amurath* is at that Distance, and the chief Forces of his Empire employ'd elsewhere.

As to what concerns the Progress of the Duke of *Weimar*, who carries on the War in *Alsatia*, there are infinitely different News come from thence, since I wrote to thee; but this is what is most certain. After the taking of *Friburgh*, this *General* made himself Master of the Campaign about *Brisac*; and his Army seizing upon all the Posts thereabouts, the *Imperialists* put themselves in a Posture of hindring them; but, for three Months Time, they could do nothing but spoil the Corn, and forage in the Country, whereby they wasted their own Substance. They have also
fruit-

fruitlessly endeavour'd to break down the Bridge which *Weimar* had built at *Nurembergh*; where they met with such Resistance, that they were forced to retire with their Army, which was in great Danger. But the Duke also met with no Success in his Enterprize on *Offenburgh*, through the Fault of fifteen hundred Musketeers, *French* and *Germans*, who came not soon enough to plant their Ladders against the Walls, and surprize this Place: And he has since made different Trials, which have proved all in vain. An Officer had already enter'd as far as the Ramparts with a small Party which he commanded by means of a false Passport; but being discover'd by a Centinel, he was forced to retreat in Confusion, with the Loss of some of his Men. *Weimar* since defeated two Regiments of Dragoons, and two other Regiments of Horse, and seiz'd on the Castle of *Mauburgh*; the Garrison of which Place surrender'd at Discretion, to a *Swedish* Officer. But I am inform'd, that the two Armies came near to one another on the Banks of the *Rhine*; of which I shall say no more than what is necessary.

The *Emperor's* Troops being discover'd by *Weimar's* Van-guard, commanded by *Turenne*, gained an high Ground; on which fortifying themselves, they shelter'd behind a Church and some Houses, before which there was a Battery rais'd of several Pieces of Cannon, to keep the *Swedes* at a Distance, and hinder them from encamping too near. Some *French* imprudently advancing to discover the Enemies Posture, within less than Musquet-shot, were almost all kill'd on the Place. By this time the Duke of *Weimar*, seeing he could not draw the *Imperialists* to fight, and it being impossible to force them on the Mountain, where they were intrench'd, retir'd under the Castle of *Mauburgh* with his Rear-guard, commanded by the Count de *Gurbian*, a *French* Gentleman. The next Day he joined the rest of his Army; and being inform'd by a *Moor* that serv'd him, and in whom he put great Confidence, that the *Imperialists* began early in the Morning to retire; he immediately therefore put himself into a Condition to follow

follow them, making his Army to march in Battel-array. His Horse consisted of twenty-four Squadrons, and his Foot of eight Battalions; besides the auxiliary Troops, of which he made a reserv'd Body.

The *French* affirm, the *Imperialists* were the strongest, as having four thousand Men more than the *Swedes*; of which it is hard to know the Certainty; but the Particulars of the Battle are worth one's writing. 'Twas very bloody, the Fight being obstinately held by both Parties, and the Victory long inclining, sometimes to one Side, and sometimes to another: So that the Combatants were ready to retire, weary of striking and being struck; when Fortune on a sudden declared her self for the Duke of *Weimar*; who behav'd him self in the Fight like a wise Captain and valiant Soldier. 'Tis certain the *Imperialists* have lost two thousand Men on this Occasion, with several of their principal Officers: And also, above fifteen hundred were made Prisoners; amongst which there were above two hundred Persons considerable on the Account of their Birth and Employs. I make no mention of the Number of their Cannon; neither do I reckon the hundred Colours or Cornets, nor three thousand Waggon-laden with all Sorts of Ammunition, which fell to the Conquerors: But I greatly value the Box of Writings of two great Commanders, wherein were found the Instructions and secret Orders of the King of *Hungary*, and some Treaties made with the *Sublime Porte*, to which all the Potentates of the World should pay Homage.

It cannot yet be discovered what these Treaties contain; yet I shall do all that's possible in order to it. The Booty has been great; however *Weimar* seems not to set much by it, as aiming at something more considerable. He remained two Days in the Field of Battle, the better to assure his Enemy of his Conduct. He moreover pretends in his Letters to this Court, that he had not in this Expedition above five hundred Foot, and a few Cavalry; which out of a Bravado, he says he will reinforce with his Pages. This is
that

that which our Emperors, who are the Masters of the World, would scruple to say in the Presence of their Slaves; so far would they be from speaking so before an Army, as this Prince did in the Presence of a great King. See the Vanity of one of these *Infidels* Generals.

In Obedience to the Orders which I received from thee, I here end my Letter; so that thou wilt receive a very imperfect Relation of the Event which I began to relate to thee; and I shall continue my *Dispatch* to-morrow, that thou may'st the better remember what I have already written to thee, that I may not lose the Thread of the History.

Paris, 24th of the last Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER VII.

To the same.

I Find in the *Alcoran*, the Chapter which speaks of *Limbo's* to be very long; and I believe, I never wrote thee any Letter, wherein there were so many Words: Thou shalt not receive henceforward any from me larger than the hundred and six Versicles of this Chapter, seeing thou enjoinest me to be short. I have therefore divided this *Dispatch* into two, lest it should prove tiresome to thee; altho' I believe thou would'st have found it, when entire, not so long as the Chapter which treats of *Hell*.

Weimar lost no Time, but went and encamp'd before *Brisac*. He caused the Trenches to be open'd with great Diligence; and has so beset the *Rhine*, that nothing can pass without his Leave. The River is considerable for its Largeness, and Length of its Course; carrying Vessels of great Burthen, which make it much frequented.

This Captain perceiving the Town wanted Provisions of all Kinds, used all imaginable Artifices to surprise

prize it, or carry it away by Assault. It is the Capital of a great Province, where he is Master of several considerable Places, and several strong Castles, from whence one may say, the Place was already besieged.

Things were in this Condition, and there was no other Discourse in the *Swedes* Camp, but of Victories, Losses, and Wounds, when the News of the Birth of the *Dauphin* was brought there, which caused another Noise to be heard. The Horse and Foot joined their Shouts of Joy to the Sounds of the Drums, Trumpets, and the Artillery, which was several times discharged.

The Valour of the Duke of *Weimar*, and that of the Troops which he commands, made not the *Imperialists* to lose their Courage, having recruited their Army with new Troops. General *Lamboye*, a Man of Courage and good Conduct, appeared in the Sight of the *Swedes*, having added to his Army five Thousand Men, with the rest of the Troops of Prince *Savelli*, and wasted the Country which the Enemy was in Possession of. If thou wouldst know the Situation of the *Swedes* Camp, and in what manner they made their Trenches and Circumvallations, I can certainly inform thee, having had some time since a very exact Draught of it. This Camp is three *German* Miles in Compass, fortified on each Side by a Trench sixteen Foot thick, with a large deep Ditch, a double *Palisado*, and several Redoubts. This lower, as well as the upper Parts of the Town, are mightily annoy'd by two Bridges made on the *Rhine*. The Abundance of all Sorts of Ammunition does much hearten the Army. The Commander, although very ill, yet is incessantly watchful, and seems indefatigable. The Soldiers, animated by their past Successes, think of nothing but new Conquests and new Booty, imagining themselves invincible. The Artillery which is in the Camp, is fifty Pieces of great Cannon, with which such Batteries have been made, as drive the Besieged to Despair. I mention not to thee several small Skirmishes, which continually happen, yet this is what is most considerable:

Some

Some Troops of young Soldiers of the *Imperial Army*, having taken several Cattle from the *Swedes*, and made some Prisoners, had Notice of the March of Colonel *Sillard*, who came from *France*, and brought a good Sum of Money for the Payment of the Troops. They went to meet him, and took it together with several young Gentlemen Prisoners; all Men of *Note*, and who had also a great deal of Money about them. At the same time, the Duke of *Lorrain*, a Prince of great Valour, who serves in the *Imperialists* Party, had undertaken to relieve *Brisac*, which he knew was reduced to the utmost Extremity; and having chosen for this Design forty Companies of Foot for a Convoy of Provisions, and being on his March, he met with the Duke of *Weimar*. And this is the short of the Story: The Prince was still indisposed, by reason of his late Sickness; yet this could not hinder him from embracing this Occasion, which he believ'd to be of great Importance to his Party; he got therefore on Horseback, and march'd up to the Duke.

The Combat lasted five Hours, and *Lorrain* did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced Commander. But he was constrained to yield to the Duke's Fortune, and retire into a Wood, with what he could save of his Troops; and the *Swedes* Courage was not a little increased by so great an Advantage, which will certainly be attended with the Surrender of *Brisac*. The Duke of *Weimar* remain'd Master of the Field, having entirely defeated the *Imperialists* Foot, and put the Duke of *Lorrain's* Horse into a horrid Disorder: There lay above twelve hundred dead on the Place; and all the Baggage, together with the Ammunition, fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. A Man would think, illustrious *Kaimacham*, that the *God Mars* has united himself with this Captain; for notwithstanding the Weakness of his Body, he performs every Day most heroick Actions with his valiant Soldiers, who are ready to undertake any thing, when he is at their Head. Whether this happens from his not valuing his Life, or his Thirst after Honour; yet

yet so it is, that he cannot live without nourishing himself with Victories ; and he begins already to equal the famous *Gustavus*, under whom he has learn'd his Trade. Yet he has lost, notwithstanding his Diligence, two Forts he built on the *Rhine* ; which if he retakes, 'twill not be without the Cost of much Blood on both Sides. The *Germans* have already lost 60000 Men there, amongst which there were 400 drowned.

The Extremities of *Brisac*, of which we have already private Advices, are at present known to all the World. The *Swedes* intercepted, that last Moon of *October*, a Letter from the Governor to the King of *Hungary*, wherein he laid open his Condition, and told him plainly, that Places which wanted Men, Victuals, and Ammunition, could not be defended but by a Miracle ; adding, that the best Officers and Soldiers were already dead ; and those that were alive, were either sick, or lay wounded, and so greatly tired that they could do no Service ; and besides, their Victuals would last but twelve Days. He seem'd afterwards to reproach him for letting the Time slip, in which he had promised him Assistance ; and to put him in mind, he did not believe he could hold out to the Fourth of the Moon of *September*, being reduc'd to great Extremities ; that he durst not mention Particulars, lest his Letter should fall into other Hands. Observe the Imprudence of the Expression ; he dares not write all, and yet he writes more than needs, to discover that the Place will be infallibly taken.

If thou beest impatient to know the Surrender of *Brisac*, thou shalt be satisfied by this Dispatch. The Post is now come, which brings News of the taking of that important Place. And he is come hither in three Days. The Place was taken according to the Rules of War surrendring the Ninth of the last Moon of this Year, according to the *Christian* Style. The Governor procured very honourable Terms ; and truly he sustained the Siege with all the Vigour and Courage possible, to the last Extremity. He is called the

Baron *de Reyneck*: His Name deserves a Place in the Letters thou enregister'st; and that the *Divan* should be inform'd of a Man who knows so well to defend what is entrusted to him, that they may give to Virtue her Due. There went out of *Brisac* only 400 Foot, and 70 Horse, who were all naked, wounded, and almost dead with Hunger: They were reduc'd to those Extremities, that they had already eaten the Flesh of Horses, Cats and Dogs; and some were said to have devoured human Flesh. As touching the Booty, there are different Discourses; but 'tis certain, the Conqueror found above 200 Picces of Cannon in the Place

But there is a strange Story related of a young Lady, of admirable Beauty, who falling down at the Duke of *Weymar's* Feet, thus spake to him:

S I S, I have but some few Moments to live, Hunger having reduc'd me to the Gates of Death; but I shall die desperate, if you do not revenge me of a base Fellow, who has exacted of me a Diamond of great Value, which I have been forc'd to give him for a roasted Mouse: I am not angry with him for taking of me a Pearl-Necklace during the Siege for four Ounces of Flour; but I confess my Weakness, I cannot see my self bereaved of what I most valued, and without Satisfaction. 'Tis said this Prince could not forbear shedding Tears at so piteous a Spectacle, this Lady dying almost at the same Instant she had done speaking; but 'tis not known whether he called this hard-hearted Fellow to an Account for what he had detain'd.

The Siege of *Brisac* lasted four Moons, almost Four-score Thousand Men perished in the Town, by Sickness, Wounds and Famine. Bonfires are made at *Paris* for so great an Advantage; and the Duke of *Weimar's* Praises are every where celebrated, and great Commendations are given him in the Letters from the Court. Our Empire may have one Day something to fear from so brave, so experienced, and ambitious a Captain, were he at Leisure: But *Germany* is so large a Country, so full of stout Men, and contains so many great Towns, and those so well fortified,

fied, as will afford him Work enough, without troubling us.

'Tis pleasantly said here, that the Emperors of *Germany* will no more sleep quietly ; for in losing *Brisac* they have lost their Pillow on which they rested ; and 'tis thought, *France* may one Day unite this Conquest to her Crown. The Great God multiply the Years of thy Life, as the Sand of the Sea, and increase every Day thy Fortune, and continue thy Health.

Paris, 25th of the last Moon,
of the Year 1638.

L E T T E R VIII.

To Melech Amet.

I Have heard here a confus'd Discourse of the Disgrace of *Stridya Bey* ; but thy Letters have satisfied me. Thou seest, Friend, how things go. He had the Prince's Favour, and yet could not save himself. He had moreover great Riches, and yet was obliged to undergo such great Ignominy. He will be more deform'd than he was, having now left his Nose and Ears in the Hands of the common Executioner.

Amurath, in condemning him to this Punishment, has done an Act of Justice worthy of him : For the honestest Men in the Empire have ever wish'd ill to this proud and insolent *Greek*. This Man ; who was but a pitiful Fisherman, and Seller of Oysters, got this intolerable Pride by the prodigious Riches he acquired in this mean Occupation. His great Wealth made him find the Means of obtaining the Favour of the *Ministers* and *Favourite*s of the *Princes* ; and *His Highness* himself honoured him with his Friendship, gave him Offices, and heaped up Riches on him. Thou shouldest know all I say ; but I am astonished thou shouldest write to me, that this Wretch having been put out from the Government of *Walachia*, by reason of his

insupportable Pride and extream Covetousness, should pretend to re-enter on this Office by means of Money, trying in some sort to corrupt the Justice of *Amurath*. Observe how many Ways he draws on him the Prince's Indignation : The Emperor must have been more covetous than *Stridya*, had he favour'd his Design ; but 'twas the Decree of Heaven that *Stridya* should be punish'd, and that our Master should give a terrible Example of his Justice, to terrify those who use their Riches to commit all Sorts of Crimes, and to purchase all manner of infamous Pleasure.

The News of the Fall of this Slave had in some sort mitigated the great Melancholy I felt, when I received thy Letter : But the Death of *Zagabarasci*, our common Friend, does not a little afflict me ; as well as the Marriage of his Son *Caragurli*, made the same Day, does astonish me : For I cannot comprehend how there could well be celebrated on the same Day, and at the same House, two such different Ceremonies, as are a Funeral and a Wedding.

I find this Adventure very strange ; and tho' our Friend indeed was very old, yet I bewail him, as if he had died before his Time. He was an honest Man, of great Piety, and moderately rich : And this is what make Mortals happy in this World, and the other too. But thou dost not inform me, whether the excessive Joy he had to see his Son married to a *Greek*, rich with the Goods of Fortune, endow'd with great Virtue, and a Mute, has not caused his Death. I rather think thou wilt say, our Friend *Zagabarasci* is dead by some Excess, than yield to what we contested about formerly. I always found in this Friend great Marks of Honesty and Sobriety ; and he also appeared to me to have great Tendernefs for his Son. I cannot, without offending thee, accuse this old Gentleman of want of Moderation, yet he is dead with a Transport of Joy. Thou seest, I affirmed no impossible Thing when I maintained in my Youth, that an extraordinary and unforeseen Joy is more likely to kill than sudden Grief, though never so violent. Didst thou

thou think it a Matter of small satisfaction to a Father, that is a wise and sober Man, to obtain for his Son a Woman that is a Mute? For what greater Pleasure can a Husband have, than to have a Wife that is not Talkative? The *Christians* understand not the Wisdom of the *Turks*, when they laugh at our Sultans, who find the greatest part of their Pleasure in the Conversation of Mutes. Is there any thing more delightful than to hear a Man that does not speak; and to see one that has no Tongue, reason on all Things? Thou knowest how many Things these Mutes of the *Seraglio* do give one to understand; and what Eloquence there is in their Signs and Gestures. Thou remembrest, that when *Anurath* would give Thanks to the Sovereign MODERATOR of all the World, in that he had escaped Death, when the Lightning fell on his Bed, and burnt to his very Shirt; he seem'd to offer him a great Sacrifice, in putting a Mute out of the *Seraglio*, which he dearly lov'd by reason of her Tricks and Gestures. The *Muses* were one Day ready to fall together a fighting, because they would not receive amongst them a tenth Companion, sent them by a *Mandamus* from a King of *Italy*; But when this tenth *Muse* signified to them, *That she was dumb*, all the Voices were for her. Dear *Melech*, 'tis not without Reason I write thee this. Thou art still young, and designed for Matrimony: Believe *Mahmut*; there are few Women that are Wise, and they say little that is Good: Think then what those say, who know nothing, and whose Number is infinite. When they have talked a whole Day, believe me, they have said nothing. If thou marriest, follow my Counsel, *Take not a Mute, for then thou wilt marry a Beast; neither chuse one that talketh, for thou wilt be linked with a Monster.* As to our Friend, he died by a particular Grace from Heaven: Yet I cannot but think still of his Death. How many more extraordinary Accidents wilt thou see, if thou livest to old Age, and especially if thou livest at *Constantinople*; where are continually beheld strange Adventures, and extraordinary Effects, both of Life

and Death, Cruelty and Clemency ; as well as of good and bad Fortune. Being in Breath, I could continue still to write to thee, but I think it's time to end, least I prove tiresome, And I end in praying Heaven to keep thee in Health, where-ever thou art.

Paris, 25th of the last Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER IX.

To the same.

PARIS, where I live, is a very healthful City, and so are all the Places thereabouts, free from pestilential Airs ; and yet there oft happens sudden Deaths, as well as at *Constantinople* ; and they die here likewise of Joy. I will relate to thee what I have partly seen, and not what I have heard, to happen in *London*, the most ancient and chiefeſt City of the Kingdom of *England* : A rich old Man falling ſick, and lying on his Death-bed, ſent to his only Son, living at *Paris*, where he ſpent his Time in Pleaſure, to come over, that he might with his Eſtate, give him his Bleſſing. Think what News this was to a young Man, to whom the Life of a Father was troubleſome, as being an Obſtacle to his Liberty ; and who waited his Death, to take his Swing of all the Pleaſures, which his corrupt Nature make him reſpect as his *Sovereign Good*. This young Man intending to get upon Horſeback to run where he was called, found himſelf embarqu'd for a Voyage which he did not deſign to make ; he fell dead on the Place, and I ſaw him in the ſame Inſtant, wherein he was living and healthful, to expire. Were I of the Sect of our Philoſopher *Muſlaadin Saadi*, I would tell thee, it matters not, whether ones dies ſuddenly, or languish a long time ; whether a Man dies in his Bed, or at the Gallows. But I being none of *Zeno's* Diſciples, and knowing no *Peripatetick*, or Philoſopher, amongſt

amongst so many Sects that were in *Greece*, who disputed whether Life or Death is to be preferred; so, expect not from me any Arguings on the Morals of those *Greeks*, not yet of the *Persians*. But if Death be such a terrible Thing, endeavour to live in such a manner, that it may never affright thee when it shall approach thee, or when thou shalt see it invade others; expecting it at all times, and in all places. Dost thou know by what *Herb*, or by what Secret *Magick Charm* I do not fear it? 'Tis by the leading of an innocent Life.

Here is publish'd and that with great Reason, the last Words of a Man of great Birth, who died when he was very old, by a Wound he received. He had served divers Kings in Places of highest Trust; and being mortally wounded in a Battel, mark what he said to those that exhorted him to die like a good Christian, and with the same Courage he had shewed in his Life; His Reply was, *That a Man who had lived well Four-score Years, cannot be to seek how to die well for a Quarter of an Hour.* This great Man, who was a famous Soldier, was also a true *Philosopher*; and I might say he was a *Saint*, had he been of *our Religion*. I believe he was a most edifying Spectacle, and the more considerable, in as much as the Example he gave of dying well, is more valuable, than that which he gave in so many Battels of courageous Fighting. He is called *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable of *France*; whose Life I had the Curiosity of reading, being to be found in the History of the *Civil Wars* of this Kingdom.

But, before I end this Letter, let me denote to thee the Difference there is between the Effects of Grief and Joy. The Messenger from *England*, of whom I already spake, finding at his Return, the old Man, whom he had left dying, still alive, he gave him such a strange Stroke, by telling to him the Death of his Son, that Grief having vanquish'd the Assault of Death, restor'd to this unhappy old Man, that Strength he had lost in his Sickness; so that coming to himself some Days after to *Paris*, I saw him bewail the Loss of his only Son.

He that said heretofore, *A Man should learn all his Life to die well*, uttered no strange Doctrine. Our Days will last long enough, if we be ready to say at all times, *We have lived enough*; And if we love as we ought, our great Emperor, who is Invincible, Holy, and the most Just among Men: And if we observe what a *French* Peasant said to all those that passed before his Door, *Never deny your Assistance, nor never do any Body any hurt*.

Let thou and I number our Days (as was preached heretofore in the *Seraglio*, to the white Eunuchs by the *Persian*, whose Eyes were put out, because he saw too clearly.) He always insisted on the *Shortness, Uncertainty, and Vanity of Human Life*. He said 'Twas short, considering what we had to do in it; uncertain as to what we shall do in it; and always mix'd with what we have done, and what remains for us to do. Teach not thy Son *Mehemet* yet, for whom thou hast so much Affection, these Precepts. Children have not that Ripeness of Judgment as is necessary, to hear Discourses of Death; they are too hard Bits for their Stomachs; and which indeed old Men can hardly digest; and which they swallow not without feeling all the Bitterness of them.

I pray God keep the Imperial City, with those that dwell in it, and shelter it from the Sorms which fall on infamous Cities; and I beseech him, thou may'st live without Offence, that thou may'st never fear Death.

Paris, 25th of the last Moon,
of the Year 1638.

LETTER X.

To Engaruli Emin Mehemet Chuk, a Man
of the Law.

WHEN I parted from *Constantinople*, I gave thee a Stone of excellent Virtue against the Gravel,

Gravel, and thou presentedst me with a Paper, which was to secure me against all bodily Evil. Time only can decide which of us two made the best Present to his Friend. Thou hast pretended to teach me in few Words, how to live among the Infidels; and I thought in giving thee a Stone, to give thee a Remedy against the Distemper thou art troubled with. I never turn my self towards the Place where *Mecha* lies, but I remember where thy Amity began, and how far since it has extended towards me. Absence has not lessen'd thy Kindness, nor hinder'd thee from sending me thy grave Counsels; but I am as yet too young, to set about the preparing myself for the other World; and too Vigorous and Healthful to hearken to thy serious and melancholy Discourses.

I wish thou wert but at *Paris*, where thou would'st see a great Number of People, who sell a most precious Thing to purchase a vain and fantastick *TITLE*. How many with great Earnestness sue for *Placeats* from the King, that they may seek their Deaths! Perhaps thou never thoughtest there was any such kind of People. What dost thou think then of the Soldiery in general? Are they any other than Martyrs of Ambition, to whom one would think Life is a Burthen? 'Tis a sad Spectacle to see how many Dead lie in the Streets, or carried on the Shoulders of their Friends and Kinsmen to their Graves: Yet this is so common a thing in *Paris*, that the People make no Wonder of it.

This way of living obliges me to do as the rest. I begin to consider, Than what happens to another may happen to me; there's no avoiding one's Destiny. This Preface is only to bring in a Story of the King's Goodness, which ought to be an Example to all Princes.

The *French* have need of fresh Soldiours to fill up so many Troops as they continually entertain: Not long since then, there came a Man full of Years, and overwhelm'd with Despair, who desired to be listed in this Prince's Service. To obtain what he desired, he told the King, *That he was the Father of Twelve Children, Seven of which were Daughters, who were marriageable,*

that he could no longer live, not being able to maintain such a great Family, and that being ignorant as yet how to die, would learn it in the King's Service. The Prince having appointed him to wait upon him one Day privately in his Closet, thus spake to him : *Thy Despair makes thee desirous to be listed among my Soldiers, and Charity obliges me to retain thee amongst the Citizens. Those that are Fools when they enter into Troops, commonly come out wiser ; because they learn several things of which they were before ignorant : But as to thy Part what Time hast thou to learn, who art ready to fall dead at the same Moment thou enterest into the School ? Yet I receive thee ; take this Sword, go and combat thy Folly, and take this Purse to succour thy Family ; and be cured ; but if thou art wise, say not from whom thou hast received thy Cure.* I know not what Sum was in the Purse, no more than I do of what Metal the Sword was. But I have this Story from an Officer of the King's Closet, with whom I have that strict Converse, that he told me this Passage as soon as ever it happen'd.

I'll tell thee, if thou wilt, some of the principal Passages of my Life ; for I conceal nothing from the *Ministers*, and the most neverable *Mufti*, who knows all that I do : I adore the Sovereign Master of the Universe, and have a great Veneration for his *Holy Prophet* : I never defiled my Hands in Blood, neither have I ever violated any Man's Bed : I easily forgive my Enemies, and hate above all Things the Crimes of Slandering. If this be not sufficient to merit Salvation, I do not know what is. These are all my Virtues ; as to other Qualifications, I have none. I have no knack at Thieving ; my Talents lie not that way ; were I qualified, I might, as most do, devise Means to put my Art in Practice. But living according to these aforementioned Maxims, I doubt not but I shall find Entrance into that Paradise, where faithful Souls will enjoy perfect Happiness, and set their Feet on the Necks of the Enemies of our *Holy Law* ; where they shall suffer neither Hunger, Thirst, nor Nakedness, free from the parching Heats, of the Sun, and the pinching Sharpness

Sharpness of the Colds, caused by the Moon; where, under the agreeable of Shade Trees, they shall gather the precious Fruit, standing, sitting or lying, and drink in Cups of Gold, or Emerald, the most delicious Liquors, which spring from a clear Fountain; and be served with unconceivable Magnificence. In this divine Place they shall be more beautiful and shining than the Stars in the Firmament, whose brightness enlightens the darkest Night; their Robes shall be of finest Silk, of a Colour more green and pleasing to the Eye, than the Herbs which spring up in *May*: And shall further receive from the Hands of God a Portion more sweet and delicious than can be imagined, as a Recompence for the Good they have done, during their Abode among Men. Thou knowest it is impossible for me to go on Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, seeing I am obliged to abide at *Paris*. Thou knowest also, I cannot give my self to Contemplation, being forced to lead an active Life; for I must not remain among the *Dervises* who pass their Day in Solitude; serving in *France*, as I must do, our puissant and invincible Emperor. Thou seest here what my Condition will bear; accuse me not therefore for neglecting the pious Advices thou givest me. I forget not so much Death, as I forget that I must die.

Be inform'd of this from me, There's not a Town in the World, where People do learn better to live ill than at *Paris*; neither is there any Place where they are better taught to die. I need not tell thee, here are publick Academies (as were heretofore amongst the *Egyptians*) wherein dead Bodies lie exposed to publick View, to make Men remember the indispensable Necessity of dying. But I may tell thee, There's no Day, wherein, in this great Town, a great Quantity of Fools do not teach wiser than themselves Things they have been ever ignorant of; for the Gibbets and Scaffolds set up for the Punishment of the Guilty, hinder the Destruction of a great many People, whose Innocency is preserv'd by these kind of Spectacles. Here the Poor, who had heretofore plentiful Subsistences,
teach

each good Husbandry ; the Proud, Humility ; the debauched with Women, Chastity.

I believe, there is no Part of the World, where there are more Thieves and Pick-pockets, and who do their Work with greater Art and Subtilty: They exercise their Crafts in all Places, in the Churches, as well as the Streets, Markets and Bridges ; so that our People of the *Morea*, who are thought by us to be such great Masters in this Science, are mere Asses to them. Adieu.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER XI.

To Cara Halai, the Physician.

I Know not whether what I thought I saw last Night in my Bed, be the Effects of a Dream, or of a real Vision. I was awaked by a great Earthquake, which made me rise affrighted out of my Bed. But informing my self by some People, I found 'twas but a Dream.

My Adventure has renewed the Remembrance of one, which proved of bad Consequence to one part of *Italy*. Physicians are at a loss to find out the Causes of those horrible Fires, which are vomited up at certain Times by Mount *Gibel*, *Stromboli* and *Vesuvius*, Mountains in *Sicily*, not far from *Naples*, whose Roots seem to spring from *Hell* ; whence arise often filthy Exhalations, Smoaks and Sulphur, with Flames which cast up Stones and Ashes to the Clouds.

'Tis known, I believe, at *Constantinople*, That towards the beginning of the Moon *February*, there was lost near *Naples* a little Island that had Four Miles in Compass. 'Tis related as a Thing certain, That after this Isle was suddenly swallowed down into the Sea, the Fire which it included, not finding its usual Vent, there was opened some Days after, a new way along the Coasts of *Calabria*, near *Messina*. There did

it

it appears, having first caused an horrible Earthquake, which overthrew a great Pile of Buildings, which the *Christians* call a *Steeple*, that belonged to a principal Church, which buried under its Ruins a vast Number of People, whom Devotion had at that Time brought thither. Some Towns of the Kingdom of *Naples* suffered by this Earthquake with great Multitudes of People, and Herds of Cattle, which were miserably lost in the Fire, by the Smoak and Heaps of Ashes. And amongst those that have been smother'd to Death, are reckoned several *Lords* of those Countries, who are Masters but of few Subjects, and yet bear the Title of *Princes*.

My dear Friend, *Cara Halai*, these are dreadful Effects of Nature, whose Causes will not be found out by us. Certainly these Countries of *Italy* must be far from *Paradise*, seeing these Mouths of *Hell* (if it be true, as many People say, they are in these Mountains) do frequently ruin by these Irruptions *Calabria* and *Sicily*. *Naturalists* affirm, That these Mountains nourish sulphureous Matter in their Bowels, which is easily inflamed, and issues out with more or less Vehemency, and more or less Frequency, according as the Matter is more or less disposed, and the subterranean Winds kindle and eject these Fires, and open the Mass of Earth, under which they are set up. But the Opinions of certain *Philosophers*, who maintain, That mere Chance produces these extraordinary Events, appears to me very ridiculous; affirming, That one Stone striking another, produces a Spark, whence happen these great Inflammations: Nay, they proceed farther, and would persuade us, That a lighted Lamp, left by Chance by those who searched into the Bowels of these Mountains; to discover the Secrets of Nature, might make these Flames; which lighting on a combustible Matter, and meeting with nothing that is contrary to 'em to extinguish 'em, do cause these surprizing Effects. They also say, That Lightning striking fiercely on some one of the Coasts of these Mountains, may do the same Thing, as the Stones striking one against another, or the Lamp left lighted.

These

These Opinions would not appear so ridiculous, were it possible to make any Demonstration of 'em : But these Events being all extraordinary, and in a manner prodigious, I shall willingly suffer thee to believe, that 'tis a Work of Nature, or Hell, or Chance alone, which cause the perpetual Motions of these Fires, which are so terrible, and so greatly damnify one of the finest Countries in the World, as *Greece* is, and this Island, which is the Delight and Nurse of almost all the Provinces situated on the Banks of the *Mediterranean* Sea.

We find also in *Ireland* these Mountains of Fire, yet with this Difference, that their Flames do no Hurt, which makes them no ways dreadful to the Inhabitants. I think too I have heard my Father say, That being in Company with certain *Arabians* in our *Lycia*, he saw these kind of Fires come out of the Earth, but they broke out gently and caused no Damage.

I am now persuaded of one Thing, which I would never believe before; which is, That old *Pliny*, intending to relate to the Emperor *Titus*, and leave to Posterity a Relation of the Effects of *Vesuvius*, and a perfect Discovery of the Cause of so many prodigious Effect; he therefore went himself on the Place, because that in his Time this famous Mountain had cast out an horrible Quantity of Fire, Stones, and Ashes, with so great Violence, and such terrible Noise, that the Effects of it were felt in *Syria*, *Africk*, and especially in *Egypt*. But the Curiosity of this wretched Philosopher having cost him his Life, the *Romans* expect still with his Return, the Discovery of the secret Causes of so many prodigious Effects. Take Care of thy own Health, and let not any of thy Patients miscarry thro' thy Neglect or Rashness. Continue to love me, tho' I am a great Distance from thee. Write to me sometimes; and believe that I am not able to conform myself to the way of living of Strangers, amongst whom I reside. I shall be always a good *Mussulman*, and a faithful Friend.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER

L E T T E R X I I .

To the Venerable Mufti, Prince of the Religion of the Turks.

THY Decree is very cruel, to separate me, without having committed any Crime, from the Communion of the Faithful.

I have read the holy Answer thou hast made me, with great Veneration ; but this has not been without many Tears ; Thou hast not untied the Knot of the Difficulties which perplex me, but made it indissoluble. So that I only live in the Certainty of having no Certitude ; and my Soul, which is encompassed with Fear, will be in Dread till Death.

If I do what thou proposest, how shall I be sure of not failing, seeing I do not understand what I ought to do : I am so dull, that I cannot distinguish, whether thou exhorteest me to do what I have ever done, or whether thou forbiddest me what I asked of thee.

I entreated thee to let me know, whether I might live amongst the *Christians*, and do in appearance, what thy do effectually in the Observance of the *Ceremonies* of their *Religion* ? And thou answerest me, *That the Circumcised, or Faithful, should have no Doubt in his Law, and need no other Precepts to observe it, than the Law it self. Moreover, that the true Mussulman must be willing to lose his Estate, his Life and Honour in the Sultan's Service : That the Christians are Enemies to the True GOD, the Emperor, and Religion ; and that, in fine, one ought to sacrifice all things not to betray this GOD, who is our chief Master.*

Tell me, I entreat thee on my bended Knees, Cannot a Man be a *true Mussulman*, without hating eternally the Followers of *Jesus* ? And in living amongst them, secretly a *true Mussulman*, must one shew one's self to be of another Religion, or pretend to be of theirs ?

Thy

Thou wilt tell me, the *Alcoran* speaks with great Clearness; yet how many obscure Passages do we find in the Words of our *Holy Prophet*, wherein we need thy Expositions?

I have no belief for *Tagot*, neither will I give Credit to the *Devil*; my *Law* expressly forbids it: For I believe in one only *true God*, who knew the Intention of our *Holy Lawgiver*, and sees what we cannot discover. And the *Prophet* cries out, That he that has such Principles, leans on the strongest Prop he can ever meet with; there being nothing which is able to overthrow it.

Disperse, Reverend Sir, as 'much as thou canst, the Darknes of my Spirit, I conjure thee by the Almighty Father, who can make live Flesh come on the Bones of the As which died an hundred Years past.

I did not discontinue here my usual Prayers, which I make in the Manner they are prescribed me by the *Law*, with my Face always turn'd to the Side of *Mecha*. When I fast, I eat only at Night, and I continue my Repast till *Aurora* advancing, the Day gives me Light enough to distinguish black Thread from white. And I pass over the Day without taken any Nourishment, till the Darknes be so great, that I cannot see the Eye of a Needle. 'Tis true, I give no Alms to the Poor because I doubt, Whether it be lawful to do Good to those, who continually move Heaven against us.

The Bishops here are in great Veneration. They have not an absolute Authority, because they depend on the *Roman* Prelate, and the King; Yet their Jurisdiction is very large, the Kingdom being full of Churches, and these Churches frequented by Millions of People. They wear about their Necks a Golden Cross. They live in publick, good Lives; are obliged to know all the Points of their Law; they must be Doctors, are obliged to Celibacy, to be sober, hospitable, prudent, irreprehensible, without coveting others Goods; they must never be drunk, or shed human Blood. Their Habit is a long Vest reaching to the

the Ground of black Silk or Violet. They go little on Foot, but are carried in Coaches to avoid the Wearisomness which would oppress them, in a Town which seems the greatest in the World; which thou wouldest do too perhaps, wert thou design'd to be their Sovereign Prelate.

The great Arbitrator of the World, favour by his Mercy, or by an effect of his Justice, the inconceivable Honour of suffering thee to sweep during thy Life, his most holy and only Temple of *Mecca*, in the Company of *Ismael* and *Abraham*, that thou may'st keep it clean, without any Filth of what kind soever.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R XIII.

To the Kaimacham.

THE *French* Armies are at present in Winter Quarters, and the Court is busied in contriving what they shall do in the Spring. I do not believe I write thee any false News; for it is to be believed that the Sharpness of the Winter will hinder any Thing from being undertaken before that Time.

The Eyes of all the Court are fixed upon three Objects, the King, the Dauphin his Son, and Cardinal *Richlieu*; but they more carefully observe the latter than the former. Thia Man hath made himself, Creatures by his Benefits; the Thankfulness for which, and the Hopes of new Ones, has bound them to his Interest. Yet 'tis to be believed, he has more Enemies by means of the great Credit he is in with his Prince, and the Occasions he finds to increase it. His Anti-Chamber is always full of Attendants, who aspire to Employs of such as are in Offices, and several other Persons, who are desirous to be Witness of his Actions. Those who threaten him in secret, do but in,
crease

crease his Courage, and make him more carefully stand on his Guard ; those who have most experinece of the World affirm, this Cardinal knows too much to be surprized. Hear the Recital of one of the least of his Actions, whereby thou may'st figure the greatest, and give them the due Price they deserve. For three Year, together, was observed in this Cardinal's Anti Chamber, a Man who was not far advanced in Years, and as assiduous to make his Court, as he was modest in his Discourse ; very reserv'd and patient ; and, which is very rare at Court, was never heard to complain. The Cardinal, who pretends to read the Souls of Men, and who is inferior to none perhaps in this Art, caused this Person, who had so long attended, to be called to him, and thus spake to him : *I know who thou art, and how long time thou hast spent in observing me ; altho' thou outwardly appearest a Frenchman, thy great Patience assures me thou art of another Climate ; get thee to Rome, and wait but half the Time in the Pope's Antichamber, as thou hast done in mine, and I doubt not but thou wilt penetrate into the most hidden Secrets. Depart then immediately for Italy, and observe the Actions and Motions of the wisest and most dissimulative Court in the Universe ; discover not thy self to any Body : Send me an Account every Week what thou canst discover ; and in this manner thou wilt be useful to me, and avoid Idleness. My Secretary will give thee a Cypher, and my Treasurer has order to give what's necessary for thy Voyage, as well as to keep thee when thou art at Rome.*

The Cardinal studies to extend the Bounds of the Kingdom, and for that Purpose, consults those who can any ways advance his Projects : Especially, the King being now certain of a Successor, by the Birth of the Dauphin, who seems very likely to live long. All Hands are employed at *Thoulon* and *Marseilles* for the fitting out of Gallies and other Vessels ; and 'tis thought, the chief Designs of this Minister are on the Coasts of *Italy*. I am told he was heard to say, that the *Romans* could never have conquer'd all the World, as they did, had they not before been Masters of *Italy* ; that

Hannibal

Hannibal had the same design; and after *Hannibal*, Pope *Alexander VI.* intended to see whether such a Design would take Effect, but his Pride and Cruelty made all his Projects prove abortive; and that he could meet with greater Success than *Hannibal*, could he be so happy as to attain one Thing, And here he ended his Discourse.

He also greatly minds whatever passes in the Royal Family and Kingdom, that he can discover, as he pretends, all the Thoughts, yea, and the very Dreams, of the Grandees, Governors of Provinces, and those that command in Places.

He says, he has learn'd several useful Things in the Relation given us of the Government of the *Chineses*, having from them the Way of discovering the most difficult Matters, without its appearing he does any Thing for this Purpose. And this is the Method of Governing he observes in this Kingdom, wherein are so many restless Spirits.

He maintains near all People who are in any considerable Offices, Persons that depend only on him, and who are known to nobody else; who in all Places wear mean Cloaths, and incessantly watch over the Actions of the Officers, and give him Notice of whatever passes. He makes use of these kind of People about his Master's Ambassadors in foreign Courts. He always carries a Book about with him, which he calls *Richlieu's Soul*; which Book contains, the Designs, the Interests, the secret Practices and Inclinations of all the Princes who hold a Correspondence, and have any Ties with *France*, and on whom *France* has any Pretensions. The most skillful Astrologers in *Europe*, have also sent him the Horoscopes of all the Kings and great Men, with their Judgment touching the Term of their Lives, and what they may probably undertake in all Times. This Cardinal said, on another Time, that he kept a great many Courtiers, yet he could well enough spare them; that he knew what passed in remote Places as soon as what was done near him: He once affirm'd, he knew in less than two Hours, that
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the King of *England* had signed the Warrant for the Execution of ———. If this Particular be true, this Minister must be more than a Man. Those who are his most devoted Creatures affirm, He has in a private Place in his Closet, a certain Mathematical Figure, in the Circumference of which are written all the Letters of the Alphabet, arm'd with a Dart, which marks the Letters, which are also mark'd by their Correspondents, and it appears, that this Dart ripens by the Sympathy of a Stone, which those who give and receive his Advice, keeps always at hand, which hath been separated from another, which the Cardinal has always by him; and 'tis affirm'd, that with such an Instrument, he gives and receive immediately Advices.

This great Man, who knows all these Reports, only laughs at them; yet he says with a serious Air, that God has given him two Angels, one White and another Black, to inform him of both good and bad Matters; and that with their Assistance he shall overthrow the Cabals of his Enemies. He sent, some Days past, a Man to the Gallies, that was accused for cutting in Pieces the King's Picture; but having been better inform'd, and knowing 'twas his, he told those about him, that this Man should be pardoned, because he had done no Hurt to the Original. Here are Theatres and Feasts preparing to entertain the People in Honour of the King and Cardinal; and 'tis whisper'd that the Queen is again with Child.

Heaven preserve thee ever from the Sultan's Anger, and all other Misfortunes which may fowre the Comforts of thy Life.

Paris, 25th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER

L E T T E R X I V .

To Egri Boynou, *the white Eunuch.*

IF thou goest into *Prussia* in *Bitinia*, as thou writest, above all Things remember to prepare thy self not to live long, and never to inform the young Sultan *Mustapha* of the Misfortune of the Grandson to *Solyman the Great*, and Son to poor *Bejazet*, whom his Father caused to be strangled in his Infancy. This unhappy Place makes me fearful of thy Life, as well as that of the Prince's, the Care of whose Education is committed to thee. I cannot forbear weeping every Time I call to Mind what passed between the Victim and the Executioner. Thou thy self toldest me, that this unhappy Child embraced and kissed several Times him that was to give the fatal Stroke, even in the Moment when he was putting about his Neck the filken String which was to strangle him. All *Asia* is informed of the rest of the History; and 'tis known, that this Child, altho' strangled, yet triumphed at his Death over his Murtherer: For, being softened by the Caresses of this Infant, whom he was about destroying, he dropp'd down in a Swoon; and *Bejazet's* Son had by this Occasion escaped Death, had not the other Executioner, more cruel than the former, done the Work.

Altho' thou dost not certainly know who is *Mustapha's* Father, yet thou may'st well presume he is the Emperor's Son. Thy Age and Prudence so long experienc'd, and the Office of Chief of all the Eunuchs of the *Empire*, which thou hast so long enjoyed. leaves no Place of doubting, but that thy Pupil is of *Royal Blood*. Arm thy self then with Courage, and study to perform well thy Duty in this solitary Place: Nothing is so troublesome as the Instructing of Children, when they will be taught as Masters by their Slaves, and will not submit to Rules, like private Persons.

Thou

Thou mayest be sure, I shall render thee all the Service I am able, seeing I consider thee as a Friend that is extream dear to me: But why dost thou seek among the *Christians* an illustrious Subject, which may serve for a Model to form a Child born in Religion of the *Mussulmans*?

Did I not know thy Wisdom, I should think thou art very simple, searching after Examples amongst the Enemies of our Holy Law, to propose them to be followed by the *Ottoman* Children. Thou hast chosen for this Purpose *Henry of France*, termed *The Great*; and art thou ignorant, that this so famous a King was the most implacable Enemy of the Empire? Be it known to thee, that this Prince understood the boldest and dangeroudest Design as was ever imagined, to destroy the Monarchy of the *Mussulmans*; and might probably have succeeded, had not Heaven, by an unforeseen Stroke, snatch'd him from the Earth, to appear before the Tribunal of the *True God*, who judges Kings as well as other Men. But lest thou shouldst imagine I make this Pretence to excuse my self from satisfying thee in what thou desirest, receive at least one Part of what thou expectest. Thou would'it have me send thee the History of this Prince; content thy self with a short Extract of it, otherwise I must be forced to send thee a large Volume. However, make not use of his Example in all Things; the Way of Living, the Laws and Customs of the *French*, do not suit with the *Turkish* Way of Regimen. If thou wilt make thy Pupil accomplish'd, form him on the Model of some one of the Hero's which the *East* has given us. *Mustapha* will read with greater Profit, the History of *Alexander* and *Pyrhus*, than that of *Charlemagne* and *Henry*; and should one wonder at the Defaults of the King of *Macedonia's* Son, and at the small Fortune of the other? Pray shew me what Men there ever were, who had at the same time the Frailties of human Nature, and the Perfections of the Divinity.

And if thou wilt search into *Persia* and *Ægypt*, thou wilt find a *Cyrus*, and an *Artaxerxes*, *Ptolemy*, *Psammeticus*,

ticus, Campson and Tomambois, all great Princes, whose Actions honour Antiquity. And how many Hero's wilt thou find in our *Greece*, if thou wilt take no notice of those whom *Rome* has sent into the World? But not to go out of the *Ottoman* Family, thou knowest very well, that we *Turks* have for proverbial Speeches, *The Modesty of Solyman*; *The good Mien of Alis*; *The Justice of Nonquirevan*; *The Majesty of Osman*; *The Gravity of Homer*; and, *The Justice of Abubekir*; not to mention, *The Courage and Magnanimity of Amurath*, who is, at this Day, more valourous than any of his common Soldiers; whether he be in his *Seraglio of Constantinople*, or in his Tents before *Babylon*.

Ten Days ago I received thy Letter, and I have employed a great deal of that Time, in collecting what thou hast desir'd of me; and to speak truly, thy Commands have supplied me with Matter wherewithal to divert me. Thou wilt be, without doubt, surprized, that two Men who long served this King in mean Employes, have discovered several Particulars of his Life, with which the *French* themselves, perhaps, are not acquainted. My Sentiment has ever been, That 'tis more necessary to know the Manners and Customs of Men, than to know the Number of Places they have besieged or taken; and to be inform'd of their good Qualities and bad ones, than to learn the Manner of their Encampments, and the Number of the Battels which they have won or lost. All Histories contain the Actions of Men, and the Principal is to know these Men, to instruct others; for Histories do generally rather divert than instruct Men. These will teach thee better what thou art to learn, than the Historians themselves. *Christian* Authors are at present like the Element, always in War, and ever contrary to one another, and never agreeing.

These two above-mention'd Friends, who are now very old Men, have serv'd King *Henry* above thirty Years, and ever held a strict Correspondence with one another; one was his Barber, and the other's Business

was

was to divert him with reading to him, when he was going to Rest.

That which is related of *Henry's* coming into the World without weeping, is certainly a Fable; but 'tis certain, the Queen of *Navarre*, his Mother, sung a *French* Song in the Time of his Birth; whereby this Princess seem'd to shew other Women, that 'tis possible to be brought to Bed without crying out. The first Milk which this Royal Babe drank, was an *Ambrosia*, which the Gods of our Friend, the Poet *Oglou*, never tasted; His Father made him drink in a golden Cup, of the strongest Wine that could be gotten, wherein he put and squeezed a Clove of Garlick, which he thought proper to strengthen his Temperament, and render him more vigorous. He was afterwards bred up under *Cyrus*, spending his first Days in Woods, and oftentimes in the Company of Shepherds. He went always with his Head bare, whether expos'd to the scorching Heats of the Summer's Sun, or during Winter, to the Rain, and most rigorous Frosts, Snow and Hail. It seems as if he had begun his Life in Prison: being confined to the Fields, distant from all Converse, clad in coarse Hair-cloth, to accustom his Body to Fatigues, and supple his Spirits to the Accidents of Fortune.

He was but nine Years old when he lost his Father, *Anthony* King of *Navarre*. The Death of this Prince may serve for a Lesson to *Mustapha*: For, having received his Death's Wound at the Siege of a considerable Place, he made the Wall of the Chamber where he lay to be broken down, that he might be carried in his own Bed, dying as it were in Triumph, into the Town: Miserable Ambition of great Men, who strip not themselves of it, till Death strip 'era of their Lives! Seven Years after the Death of *Anthony*, the young *Henry* was declared Head, and Defender of the *Hugonot* Party; and, when eighteen Years old, he was in a considerable Fight; and 'tis not well known, whether he himself was engaged. Fortune was so contrary to him in the Beginning, that hav-
ing

ing lost a Battle, he was obliged to flee for six Months together with the rest of his Army; and to traverse almost throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, without taking any Rest, for fear of being surprized. Thou hast never read, I believe, of any Captain that made a Flight of that Durance, before him. The Queen, his Mother, being a Woman of Masculine Courage, and Firmness of Mind, died, poyson'd by a Pair of Gloves. At nineteen Years of Age, he married the King's Sister, who then reigned, named *Charles IX.* and never any Wedding was solemnized with such bloody Tragedies. 'Tis hard to believe what an infinite Number of *Hugonots* were then massacred; the Design was secretly laid, during the Celebration of the Wedding, and executed six Days after, at full Noon. 'Tis said, that in one Day, all *France* was dy'd with the Blood of these poor People, there being at least an hundred thousand of them slain, amongst which were twenty Lords of great Consideration, with the great *Admiral* of the Kingdom; and, at the fewest, four thousand Soldiers massacred in *Paris*. *Henry* did not perish on that unhappy Day, but he was very near Death; and the King having call'd him, thus spake to him, with an angry Tone, and fierce Countenance, *Henry, thou art alive because I would spare thee, but I will not spare thee, if thou persist in thy Heresie: Choose one of these two Things, either the Mass or Death.* If thou knowest not what the *Mass* is, I will shew thee in another Letter. This Prince chose to go to *Mass*, rather than to lose his Life; and therefore publicly abjured the Religion he professed. These two old Men affirm, that *Nero* or *Caligula's* Court, was never corrupted as that of *France* was then. No People were more in Fashion than Buffoons; and never did the worst sort of Debaucheries so abound. Sorceries, Impositionings, Assassinations, and all other sorts of Crimes, were permitted in such a Manner, that all the Laws and good Order seemed to be overthrown. 'Tis not known, whether the King of *Navarre* took up his former Religion through Policy, or some Corruption he

saw amongst the *Catholicks*; however, he return'd some time after to *Calvinism*, whereunto he was so obstinately addicted, that having lived several Years in this *Sect*, he was forced to offer great Violence to himself, to enjoy peaceably the Kingdom of *France*, and accommodate himself with the Pope of *Rome*, and to make again publick Profession of the *Roman Religion*.

Never any Prince more loved Women than he did. This Passion prevailed over him all the Days of his Life; and there were two different Natures observable in his Person, *an invincible Courage in the Field; and such a Passion for Women, as made him be often seen to weep amongst them.* He has had greater Weaknesses than *Hercules*, and he gloried in them. He challenged the bravest Man in all *France*, the Duke of *Guise*, to a single Fight; but the King interposed his Authority to hinder the Combat.

This King performed an Action during his Youth, which our *Dervises* would have certainly set down in their *Registers* as greatly remarkable. On a certain Day wherein he was to fight a pitch'd Battle, being on Horseback in the midst of his Army, he made publick Reparation to a young Woman whom he had deflowred, and spake in these Terms: *I have forced this Woman you see here, and used Threats when Entreaties would not bring her to my Lust. Let all that hear me, detest the bad Example I have given. And as for your Part, whom I have thus wronged, chuse an Husband, and receive from me such a Portion, as may seem in some sort an Amends for the Injury I have done you.*

It seems as if this so laudable an Action was approved of by Heaven: For having immediately hereupon given Battle, he overthrew a mighty Army with a few Troops.

The Ladies, who bore *Henry* no Ill-will for his Tenderness to their Sex, greatly interested themselves in the Affairs of War, wherein this Prince was always Head of the *Hugonot* Party: And they gave Occasion to a Proverb which lasted a great while. There being some who were for making a Peace, and others War;

War ; this War was called *The Ladies War*. This Prince had been in so many Fights, I believe one may truly say in this Particular, never any Prince came near him : For who ever in one Day was in two Battles, and came off victorious ?

King *Charles IX.* dying during this Time, the *Queen-Mother* sent for her other Son in great Diligence, who had been elected some *Moons* before King of *Poland*, by the Death of *Sigismund Augustus*. 'Tis said, that *Charles's* Successor having been advertised of the Death of the King his Brother, fled in the Night from *Cracovia* only with two Persons who were his Confidants, and retired to *Venice* ; and 'tis said that the *Courtezans* of this famous City, assured the Crown to our *Henry* ; for having been infected with the Distemper which the *French* call the *Napopolitan Disease*, and other Nations the *French Pox*, he became incapable of having Children to perpetuate the Crown in the Branch of *Valois*.

After his Death, which was violent, and perpetrated by a *Christian Dervise*, *Henry III.* dying without an Heir, and his Throne being sought by different Pretenders, *Henry*, to whom alone his Birth had given Right, became Master of it by his Patience : His Fatigues in War, and his Courage, made him vanquish all Obstacles. He maintain'd his Right with an unparallel'd Valour, and carried himself with the greatest Prudence ; yet his greatest Successes are owing to the Greatness of his Heart. He met sometimes with Disadvantage, but oftener came out Conqueror from all Engagements ; and 'tis observable, he was the prouder after the Battles won, because he had before appeared extraordinary familiar with the Soldiers who had helped him to win them. He was wont to be often in his Stables to see his Horses ; and often slept amongst these Creatures, whom he termed his most faithful Courtiers. How difficult soever the Way was which was to lead him to the Throne, he would not be disheartened ; these Difficulties serving only to increase his Courage. He saw the *Spaniards* confederated

ted with his Enemies; yet he alone, without any other Assistance, but of some few faithful Troops, sat down before *Paris*, which was the most famous Siege since that of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. He reduced the Inhabitants of this Capital of the Kingdom, to live on the most abject Means one can imagine, after they had consumed the Rats, Mice, Dogs and Cats, which were for some time the greatest Delicacies the best People of the Town could meet with. But he was, for all this, (after he had given several Assaults) forced to raise the Siege, and accommodate himself with the *Prince*, who commands all the *Priests* among the *Catholicks*; and he again renounced *Calvinism*, wherewith he was infected, and which served as a Pretence to his Enemies. He was crowned in the same manner as his other Predecessors had been before him. He began to govern his Kingdom, ruined by so many Wars, Pillages, and Conquests made by all sorts of People, and so repaired it by his good Government, that he was soon in a Condition to embellish it. He built several magnificent Bridges, raised stately Edifices, and forgot nothing which might re-establish those good Orders which the Licentiousness of the Times had overthrown.

But what this King designed against us, as soon as he was settled on the Throne, will appear at the same time to thee both dreadful and admirable. As soon as ever he had made a general Peace with his Enemies, he laid the Foundation of the most Heroick Design that ever Man invented; wherein he shewed himself not inferior to the first of the *Cæsars*, nor the Conqueror of *Asia*.

He undertook to overthrow all the Monarchies of the World, to give a new Face to all the Affairs of it, and destroy, in a short time, the Empire of the *Ottomans*. But before he began such a great Enterprize, he was for paying all the Debts of the *Crown*, and his own in particular; which amounted all together, to near an hundred Millions, and it was a prodigious Thing to find so much Money, without selling the Kingdom, or engaging the People; yet it

is true that he got this Money, and paid those Debts with it.

He was for dividing *Christendom* into fifteen equal Dominations, five of which should obey Kings that were so by *Succession*, and six to be subject to Kings that were *Elective*, and the four remaining should be *Republicks*.

By this Division he left the *Pope* the Countries belonging to the *Church*, and added thereunto the Kingdom of *Naples*, with the Homage of *Sicily*, and the greatest part of *Italy*, modell'd into a *Republick*; with Obligation to give the *Pope* every Year a Golden *Crucifix*, and four thousand *Sequins*. Only *Venice* was left in the Condition 'twas in, with its Laws and Customs. But there were allotted to this *Republick*, Kingdoms and Isles, which were to be taken from us in the *Archipelago*, with an Homage to the *Roman* Prelate, of an Ambassy to kiss his Feet; and at the End of every twenty five Years, a small Statue of Gold, representing *St. Peter*, whom they term *God's Vicar on Earth*.

Flanders should make a *Republick* with the rest of the *Low-Countries*, which would be a Loss for the *Spaniards*; and to this *Republick* should be added some of the Neighbouring *States*.

The *Franche Compté*, *Alsatia*, *Tirol* and *Trante*, were added to the *Democratical State* of the *Swisses*, with the Homage every fifteen Years of a Hunting-Dog, with a golden Collar about his Neck fastened to a Chain of Gold, which this *Republick* should present to the Emperor of *Germany*.

The Emperor should be obliged to renounce the aggrandizing of his Family, and only dispose of vacant *Fiefs*, the Investiture of which he should not bestow on any of his Kindred; and there should be a Law inviolably observed in the Empire, that never two Princes of the same Race should enjoy successively the Imperial Crown.

The *Duchy of Milan* should be added to the other Provinces belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, together with the Title of *King of Lombardy*.

The Kingdom of *Hungary* should be enlarged with the Principalities of *Transylvania*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*: And the King who was to be *Elective*, should be chosen by the Suffrages of the *Pope*, the Emperor of *Germany*, the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Swedeland*, *Poland* and *Denmark*; and *Bohemia* should be submitted to the same Laws.

France, *England*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Swedeland* and *Denmark*, should not change their Form of Government, when for the general Affairs, these Kingdoms were to be subject to the Universal *Republick*, of which the *Pope* was to be the Head.

Things thus established, *Henry* was to be the Umpire of all *Christendom*, to decide all Differences which might happen between the aforesaid Princes and States, with fifteen Persons chosen from amongst the most famous for Learning and Arms, which could be found among these fifteen Denominations: And, besides these there was to be established a *General Council*, consisting of sixty other Persons, for all the Differences which might happen in all the *Kingdoms* and *Republicks*, between those who govern'd them; and this great Assembly should make their Residence in the capital City, *Rome*.

Every State was to be obliged to furnish a certain Number of Troops, and Sum of Money, to make War against the *Turks*: And the Business of *Poland* and *Swedeland* should be, to make War together against the *Muscovites* and *Tartars*. There were afterwards three *Generals*, to be chosen by common Consent for the conquering of *Asia*. One for the Sea, and Two for the Land: And three hundred thousand Foot entertained, with one hundred and fifty thousand Horse, and four hundred Pieces of Cannon; and the Naval Army was to consist of an hundred and fifty Vessels, and one hundred Gallies; and a Fund was to be raised for this, of an hundred Millions of Gold.

This Treasure was to be put into the *Pope's* Hands: The Isle of *Malta* was to be the Store-house of all Things belonging

belonging to the Sea, the Port of *Messina* the Arsenal of the Gallies, and the City of *Metz* one of the principal Magazines for the Land Forces.

All the *Christian* Princes were to be obliged to lessen their ordinary Expences, and to contribute to this great Design according to their Ability.

There were to have been several Spies in *Constantinople* in the Habit of *Greeks*, who were perfectly skill'd in the *Eastern* Languages, to observe the Motions of our Empire : And besides these, forty resolute Men, who were at a certain Time and Signal, to set Fire to the *Seraglio* and Arsenal, and several other Quarters of the Town.

There was found in this *Hero's* Closet, after his Death, a *Memorial* written with his own Hand, wherein he had already mark'd twelve Ambassadors for several Places in *Christendom*, for the negotiating of so great an Affair ; and the *Pope*, *Republick of Venice*, and Duke of *Savoy*, had been already acquainted with it.

In the mean time, the King had an Army already of forty thousand Foot, and eight thousand Horse ; and he was, under Pretence of visiting the Frontiers of *Flanders*, thence to begin the Execution of his Project, affirming, That as to his own Part, he had no other Pretension but the Glory of delivering *Christianity* from the Tyranny of these *Barbarians*.

'Tis said, he apply'd himself for ten Years together in searching the means to make his Project take ; he gave great Pensions to the *Cardinals* at *Rome*, and in *Germany* to several Officers ; and he had in *France*, besides the Troops I have already mentioned, four thousand Gentlemen, who were so devoted to him, that they were ready to mount on Horseback on the least Order from him.

He had already fifteen Millions in the *Bastile* ; and he that had the Superintendency of his Treasure, promised to add thereunto, in less than three Years, forty more Millions, without touching the ordinary Revenues.

I have no Knowledge of the Manner how he would divide the Estates of the Sultan. But *Henry* was assassinated just as he was ready to leave *Paris*, to begin so great a Work ; being killed in his Coach, in the Arms of his most faithful Courtiers : And the fatal Stroke which carried him out of the World, deliver'd the Empire of the *true Believers* : This Empire, whose Throne is so high that it reaches up to the *First Heaven*, whence it scares these *Infidels*, and secures the good *Mus-sulmen* from the Insults of the *Christians*.

One of these old Men I mentioned, has assured me, he heard the King speak these following Words some Days before his Death : *I shall never go out of this Town : I know not what with-holds me : I shall never accomplish what I design, never see the Destruction of Constantinople ; for I am told by Astrologers, I shall be killed in a Coach. I must then always go on Foot, and never stir out of Paris.*

Such was the End of this Prince, so highly venerated by the *French*. He was really a Man of great Courage and great Penetration ; and so much the greater, in that he regarded the Destruction of the *Ottoman Empire*, as one of the difficultest Things in the World. And truly, no other Prince did that Honour to *Mahomet* nor his Successors. But yet not finding his own Forces sufficient to invade and destroy the *Turkish Empire*, he invented a chymical Project to find a Possibility in a Thing which ever appear'd impossible.

In the very Moment I am writing, I have receiv'd certain News of my Ruin. If I be not taken off this time at *Paris*, I shall perhaps be more fortunate than ever, and more successfully and fully serve our great Emperor, whose Clemency is equal to his Grandeur, and who is above all the Powers on Earth. Cardinal *Richlieu* has sent for me to come to him : I therefore finish this Letter in haste, which perhaps will be the last I write, being greatly afraid I am discovered. If my Fear be vain, I shall learn thee in another Letter, the most remarkable Events of *Henry's* Life. In the mean time, I am resolved and disposed to suffer the
Martyr-

Martyrdom. If I die, my dear *Egry*, we shall see one another in the *other World*; if it be true that we shall have Eyes there, and remember what has past here below. Pray the Great God for *Mahmut*, and take care of thy Health.

Paris, 25th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R X V.

*To the Invincible Vizir Azem, at the Camp
under Babylon.*

CARDINAL *Richlieu* made me come into his Presence, and yet I am alive: He has not attempted any thing against either Life or Liberty; but has done me the same Honour, as to other foreign *Churchmen*; for he believes I am of *Moldavia*, calling me *Titus*, not knowing any more of me than what I told him. It seems on the contrary, as if he intended the Kindnesses, supposing me a bitter Enemy to the *Turks*; and perhaps I shall receive some Present from him, for having served him already as an Interpreter. I shall tell thee, invincible *Vizir*, what has past between him and me, without any Fear of being tedious to thee. I serve thee faithfully, and write to thee as oft as my Duty requires.

As soon as I was in his Closet, he thus spoke to me: *Titus, What dost thou do in Paris? What Business hast thou in this Town? And what is really thy Country?* I answer'd him, *That I was a poor Clerk of Moldavia and came to study Divinity, and be a Priest; that I knew no better Place to become wise and learned; and that I would willingly sacrifice all things to render him Service.* He afterwards ask'd me, *Whether I was acquainted with any of the Eastern Languages; and Whether I had ever been at Constantinople?* I have been, replied I, in this

great Town when I was a Child; and that my Father and Mother were then in Slavery. My Father is dead, and my Mother is married again to a Christian Greek. I understand Arabick and Turkish, and am perfectly skill'd in the School Greek. What do you mean by School Greek? replied the Cardinal. It is different from the Vulgar Greek, answered I, which is so corrupted, that learned People will not give themselves the Trouble to understand it. He afterwards bade me go into a little Closet, where I should find one of his Secretaries, who would need my Help; where I had no sooner enter'd, but the Secretary presented me with a Turkish Manuscript, to turn into Latin or Italian, if I could not do it into French. I immediately translated it into Latin, and now will inform thee (wise Minister and Governor of the great Empire of the true Faithful) of the Contents of it.

The Christian Dervises, called in France Cordeliers, keep, as thou knowest, in Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of their Messias, by a Privilege which Zelim the Conqueror of Palestine granted them. These Religious have neither Peace nor Truce with the Greek Christians, and they have such Differences together, as are of ill Consequence to all; they persecute one another without ceasing, and spread abroad most bitter Satires against each other. Each Party makes ill Reports to his Superior of that which is opposite, and mixes among some Truth, a great many Lyes, and absurd Stories. But it appears to me, that the Greeks, who naturally love Cabals, and have the Reputation of great Romancers, are more dextrous than their adverse Party to do Mischief.

The Christian Dervises, have represented a great many Things to this Cardinal, to authorise their Pretensions against the Greeks, by means of the French Ambassador. They not only reproach the Greeks with several Injustices and Violences, but accuse the Cadi's of Cruelty and Tyranny, and the Soldiers which guard Jerusalem, of insupportable Exactions. Thou shouldst be thoroughly inform'd, whether these Complaints

plaints be on just Grounds : For they affirm, their Patience is beyond the Cruelty of the Officers thou employest ; yet that they can no longer bear the Insolencies which are now put on them, and are on the Point of hazarding all by a Stroke of Despair. It does not belong to me to be Advocate in the Behalf of those who are submitted to thy Authority, and especially of those who ought to bear the Yoke of the *Mahometans* ; but 'tis the Duty of *Mahmut*, thy Creature, to inform thee of the true Circumstances of Affairs which come to his Knowledge. Yet, if the Oppression of the *Dervises* be so great as they make it, thou that art the true Light which enlightens the Empire of the *Faithful*, and scatterest the Darkness of it, thou wilt not permit those that live under the publick Faith to be oppress'd ; and that four wretched *Greeks* shall be the Cause of such Disorders as may happen to *Palestine*, the Complaints of which have reached the Ears of the greatest Princes in *Europe*, and to whom such Things may give false *Ideas* of the Government of those who are chosen by God to command all the World. Invincible *Bassa*, I have discovered the true Circumstances of this Affair, in the *Turkish* Manuscript which Cardinal *Richlieu's* Secretary has put into my Hands. I have fully discover'd the false Reasonings of the *Armenians* and *Greeks*, who by common Consent have offer'd several Things to the most Venerable *Mufts*, which I am sure thou wilt not approve of, for they make most wretched Excuses, to colour over their Perfidiousness. They say the *Romanists* ought to be ill used on purpose to get rid of them from *Palestine*, being like the *Jews*, bitter Enemies in their Hearts to the Welfare of the *Empire* : That the Time of the Privileges granted by *Zelim* and his Successors is expired ; and that moreover, 'tis great Imprudence to suffer Pilgrims to come over from distant Countries, who under Pretence of visiting the *holy Sepulchre*, and other Places which Superstition has consecrated in *Palestine*, come to espy the Actions of the *Turks*, examine the Form of their Government, visit their Places, and

measure the Roads and Ports which they possess on the Seas, which may prove of dismal Consequence to the Honour and Interest of the Ottoman Empire. I cannot inform thee how this *Memoir* came into *Richlieu's* Hands, but it was either sold or intercepted at *Constantinople*, where it was addressed. However, I must not forget to tell thee one Remark, which this Minister made, whence thou may'st guess, whether he reason'd like a wise and prudent Man: *Were I*, says he, *the Sultan's chief Minister, I should have added Privilege to Privilege, to the Monks Cordeliers, not only because Justice requires it, but by reason of the Advantage which might redound thereby to the Turks. I would make the Ways to Jerusalem easy to all People: I would lessen the Tribute; the Pilgrims should be well used, the Christians in general, as well as the Cordeliers; and I would severely punish the Officers and Soldiers who guard Palestine, and the sacred Places, if they did otherwise.* And then turning himself towards me; Does it not appear to thee, says he, that the best Way to enlarge a Kingdom, is, to procure it an Advantage which increases the Number of its Subjects? 'Tis not enough that the Prince shows the Ornaments of his Principality; he must show also the Prince, otherwise he will be like the Philosopher who was brought into Herod's Presence; I do not see, says the King, any thing else but the Beard and Cloak of a Philosopher. If the Turks do as the Scythians, when they made themselves Masters of Athens, they will do better; for they would not burn the Books which were gather'd together in this famous Town, alledging, That those who applied themselves to Study, were not wont to do any great Hurt. If the Christians meditate on Death, in visiting and honouring the Sepulchres; the Mussulmans should consider, that if they make War against them, they have only to do with contrite and penitent Persons, who will therefore be the more easily defeated.

And this is a faithful and exact Account of the Conversation I had with this chief Minister of State. Suffer now that I add, as a Note of the Justice of the Christians Pretensions, what some Particulars of this Kingdom

Kingdom had given me to understand, touching the Justice and Antiquity of the Privileges of the *religious Christians* at *Jerusalem*. They make appear, that for above three hundred Years these Places do belong to the *Roman Catholics*; that *Robert d' Anjou* bought them of the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, and made thereof a Present to the *Roman Church*, and put them in Possession not only of the *holy Sepulchre*, but of *Calvary*, of *Bethlehem*, and their Dependencies; which Settlement lasted till *Zelim*, who therein confirm'd the *religious Christians*, with an Augmentation of Privileges, as soon as ever he had conquer'd *Egypt* and *Palestine*.

Francis I. King of *France*, having made an Alliance with *Solyman II.* he insert'd in his *Treaty* an Article, which confirm'd the aforesaid Privileges, which were since solemnly renewed, till *Amurath's* Time, who is now on the Throne of the *Mussulmans*, (an happy Emperor, and Master of the Universe, for whose sake alone the Sun enlightens the Earth) and confirms what his Predecessors had done in Favour of the *Christian Roman Dervises*, whom he has maintain'd without any Regard to the vain Pretensions of the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, in their lawful Possessions of *Calvary*, the *Grotto* of *Bethlehem*, and the two little Mountains thereunto belonging; and granted to them the keeping of the Stone on which their *Saviour Christ* was embalm'd, as well as that of the two small *Domes* cover'd with Lead, under which is the *holy Sepulchre*.

Thy humble Slave *Mahmut* has an unpleasant Task impos'd on him by this *French Minister*. He desired me to give him some *Memoir* in general of what I know, and bad me not wonder at his Curiosity: It being his Maxim, to make Friendship with all Strangers of Merit, whereby he has learn'd several important Matters, and discover'd Secrets of great Importance; and that it lay in my Power to oblige him greatly, in giving him an exact Account of the Forces of the *Ottoman Empire*, and where they lay most open to be attack'd. I answer'd him very modestly, that my Business being only to say my *Breviary*, he could not expect any
great

great Capacity from me in these Matters. He smilingly bad me try what I could do in that Matter ; yet however, he would not lay any thing upon me which might make me uneasy ; adding, that tho' he were a Cardinal and a Priest, yet he knew something more than Divinity, and that several *Roman* Prelates had made War with great Success, from *St. Peter's* Chair. In fine, I could not but promise to gratify him ; and thou shalt know in due Time, how I discharged my self ; for I shall rather part with my Life, than act contrary to my Allegiance. However, I must avoid giving him Cause to suspect me, and acquaint thee alone with the Conferences I have had with him.

The *holy Prophet* multiply thy *Line*, and that the Empire may not want *Ministers* of thy Lineage, and the *Great God* so assist thy Valour, that thou may'st see the Empire of *Amurath* without Bounds.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER XVI.

To the same.

THE Winter is so far advanced, that the King's Armies lie quiet. It's no Fable, that the *Dauphin* was born with some Teeth, and that no Nurse dare present him the Teat, for fear of being bit with them. 'Tis said also, that there being no Women to be found about the Court which can endure the Suckling of him, there is a certain Peasant, a very healthful and hardy Woman, that has undertaken that Employment.

Here are four Posts arriv'd at the same Time ; one comes from *Rome*, the rest from the Armies ; but what News they bring is not yet known : 'Tis thought that he which comes from *Germany*, brings News of
Alsatia

Alsatia and *Brisac*. The King of *France* is very well. Here are great Preparations at Court for the *Carnival*, in which Time the *Christians* play a thousand mad Pranks.

'Tis commonly said the Queen is with Child again. Here are also many Reports of the *Grand Signior's* Expedition, both in Prints and News-Letters; and several Prognosticks are made on his Enterprize on *Babylon*.

I shall inform thee by the first Opportunity, what is said here further of our ever victorious Emperor, and of thee also who art his chief Minister, and the Right Arm of his Empire: And at the same time tell thee what News comes from the *Northern* Parts; of which, I suppose, the *Kaimacham* has given thee some Notice, as well as the most considerable Events of the War of *Alsatia*. The *Immortal Being* reward thee with the taking of *Babylon*, and all *Persia*, as a Reward of thy Fidelity and Valour, and Pains thou hast taken in serving faithfully thy Master; and give thee the good Fortune of leading triumphantly in Chains the Sovereign of this Empire, that he may be humbled to the kissing of the Stirrup of the invincible *Amurath's* Horse.

Paris, 16th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R X V I I .

To Bekir Bassa, Chief Treasurer to the Grand Signior.

E Liachim the Jew, whom thou thoughtest so wise and virtuous a Man, concealed his Qualities at *Constantinople*, to discover them more advantageously at *Paris*. It was not his Fault that my Affairs were not entirely ruin'd. The Villain gave Marks of his Treachery, in the very Moment he saw me receive the
Money

Money from *Carcoa* at *Vienna* upon thy Order. I wrote to thee, I thought this Man would be faithful in instructing me in the Things which were necessary for me to know, and that I would be upon my Guard in those Things wherein he might do me Mischief. Thou may'st easily imagine how I am vexed at present ; for I can neither accuse him, nor draw from him a just Revenge. He made me believe, That a Lawyer's Son at *Paris*, a young Man of great Hopes, having receiv'd some Displeasure from his Relations, was resolv'd to be circumcised, and embrace the *Mabometan* Religion ; and that he would not lose so happy an Occasion of doing me Service ; and therefore had contriv'd to hide this young Man in a close Cellar, underneath the House where I lodge, without discovering to him the Place where he should be. He added, he had promised him Money, and to procure him a considerable Employ in *Constantinople* ; and that he had in fine, fill'd him with all the Hopes which are wont to be given to those that through Fickleness, or temporal Advantages, forsake the Religion of their Fathers, to profess another. He also assur'd me, I should have no Trouble by this Business, having taken all necessary Care to transport his Convert immediately to *Tunis* or *Algiers*, and from thence to *Constantinople*. I yielded to the Reasons he alledged, and this young Man was brought in the Night to the House where I lay, and hid without my seeing him. But the next Day was not open'd without a strange Scene in the House. I was astonish'd to see a Woman in a great Rage stand before me, demanding Satisfaction for violating her Daughter, and taking away her Life ; charging me with having forcibly carried her away, and then murder'd her : And she made all these Reproaches in the Company of a great many Officers of Justice.

Think then the Confusion I was in ; the more I denied the Crime, the more fiercely they charged it on me. I was threaten'd with Death, if I did not confess it, and give the Satisfaction required of me ; and at the same Time, this sly *Jezabel* gave a Sign to one of the

the Rogues her Companions to go down to such a Place, and bring up her Daughter, who was found alive in Man's Cloaths, and melted into Tears. It signified nothing to alledge Reasons to prove my Innocency ; so that I was forced at last to throw out to these hungry Wretches, all the Money I had, and they withdrew not, till they had abused and reviled me, in a most bitter manner. They got from me about an hundred and eighty four Sequins of Gold, and about an hundred Piafters of Silver. *Eliachim* has the Confidence to affirm, he knew nothing of the Cheat ; and thinks to justify himself in saying, that if he who is a *Jew* was deceived by this young Man, who pretended to become a *Turk*, there were a thousand *French* People who had been cheated in like manner. I shall not here mention what I alledged to him to make him own his Perfidiousness, this being fruitless. On the other hand, reflecting on the Employ I had, and my present Circumstances ; it appeared to me necessary to dissemble this Truth, and to wait for some favourable Occasion to send this Villain out of *Paris*, and to lay some Snare for him at *Constantinople*. I give thee notice of this Event for two Reasons, that I may have more Money, and provide for my Safety ; believing my self in great Danger, as long as I live where such a Fellow comes. I shall not mention the Interests of *Mahmut's* Life ; for I shall ever think it well spent, should it be lost in the *Sultan's* Service, who is the only Prop of the Universe.

Thou wilt not want Opportunities, wherein thou may'st draw out of *Eliachim's* Purse the Money he has robbed me of ; neither wilt thou want Means, to remove from me so dangerous a Companion. Thou should'st know, what the *Christians*, who are always irreconcilable Enemies to the *Jews*, say of them ; they affirm, That these infamous Wretches are the Slaves of all Nations, excepting *Turkey* ; and especially in *Constantinople*, where they are Masters ; they are at the same Time, carefs'd and curs'd ; in the midst of Abundance, they appear always miserable ; and yet they
lay

lay Hands on all others Properties. They add, that they be Vagabonds like *Ulysses*, yet in whatever Place they are, they find a Country like *Homer*; that they are all perfidious, and in Publick affect to appear religious; but live in grievous Disorder and Luxury in their own Houses, sticking at no sort of Crimes; bragging, that tho' it be not permitted them to purchase Lands, yet they have found Means to get into their Hands a great part of the Gold in *Europe*. The *Christians* also say, their Number must needs be great, seeing they never go to War; and there are none amongst them that do not marry. They are, say they, ever Cowards and Paltroons, where there's any Danger or Pains; but bold, when they foresee any certain Gain in the Markets they make. They never speak the Truth, but when 'tis to deceive; they are ever Liars, and there's no Impiety or Sacrilege at which they will scruple; and these same *Christians* affirm, they will commit one time or other, some horrid Crime in our great *Imperial City*; being the *Turks* concealed Enemies, tho' they put great Confidence in them. I have written to *Carcoa*, to send me speedily some Assistance; and I have been forced to borrow Money of this same *Eliachim*, that Traytor who has brought me into the Condition I am in. He could not deny me, though he pleads (like a Rogue as he is) extreme Poverty.

This Trick which has been put upon me, will oblige me henceforward to keep a *Valet*, but I will take one so little, that no Man shall reproach me with chusing much of an ill Thing. Abandon not the poor *Mahmut*, who prays *God* that he would give thee all sorts of Prosperities, and make thee live in perfect Health! And wishes that all the Monarchs of the *Infidel Nations* may become Slaves to the *Sultan*, who shall be ever invincible! and that their Riches may increase the Treasure thou guardest.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER

L E T T E R XVIII.

To Carcoa at Vienna.

I Have received the Money thou didst send me, and immediately lost it ; yet without my Fault. *Bekir* the Treasurer, has been informed by my Letters of the Loss I sustained, and of another Affair which is not necessary for thee to know. I also writ to him, I expected a speedy Supply from thee ; for I should demand it of thee. The *Grand Signior's* Interest requires, that thou dost not oblige me to give thee any other Reason, and that thou deferrest not to send me, as soon as may be, a sufficient Sum of Money. I can only inform thee, that in the Attempt which was made on me, I lost only what I can recover. My Life is in Safety, and by a Miracle, my Affairs in the same Condition ; for, no Body has, as yet, discovered who I am. If thou writest any Thing to *Eliachim* the Jew, be sure be careful, and do not trust him more than need.

Send without Loss of Time to the *Port* the Packet I address'd to thee, and let me not languish in *Paris* in the Expectation of Money. 'Tis true, Gold is a rare Commodity, because every Body desires it. In this great Town of *Paris*, one may sooner find an hundred Saints, than one liberal Person. The French say, it belongs only to Sots to be free of their Money ; that a Man should succour his Friend with good Counsel, and there's no need of any Thing else. Learn, *Carcoa*, to have no need of other Peoples Help, and have a care of being too free. Men that are accustomed to receive good Turns, are generally wont to reckon them as Debts.

The Vanity of that *Philosopher*, who died with Misery, is a great Example of Mens Insolency. When *Pericles* would give him some Succour to prolong his Life, he had the Audaciousness to say to him,

Thou

Thou carriest Oil, O Pericles because thou hast need of a Lamp.

The Sovereign Moderator of all Things, keep thee from falling into Necessity : This is the best Wish the poor *Mahmut* can make for thee, in the low Estate he finds himself.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER XIX.

To Dgnet Oglou.

B *Irkabeb's* Father was a rich Man in *Arabia*, and his Virtue was equal to his Riches. He had nineteen Children, who all died of the same Distemper, when they arrived to some Years. Never Family was more united and regular. *Birkabeb* was naturally of a quiet, soft Temper, but so holy a Man, and at last died so poor, that a Thief coming into his Chamber one Night to steal, and finding nothing, he called him to him, whilst he was going away, and gave him his Bed, as not being willing he should depart empty-handed, and lose his Labour. Being forced after this to lie on the Floor, he received Assistance from Heaven by the Hands of his Wife ; and scarce were twenty *Moons* past since this Adventure, but there happened another more strange than the former ; for he became on a sudden very rich, and at the same Instant *cas'd to be wise*. He had a Wife of as haughty a Disposition, and noisy Humour, as his was quiet and humble. This Woman kept the Flocks, and with a florid Youthfulness, was endued with great Beauty ; and 'tis not known by what Accident, a Prince of the Race of the *Sophy of Persia*, who fled from his Sovereign's Displeasure, met with her. 'Tis certain that having recommended himself to her, and intreated her to save his Life, and not discover him, she led him into a very thick
Wood

Wood, which was never frequented; where the Prince lived for fourteen Years concealed. But, growing at length tired with this sort of Life, he persuaded this Woman to go to *Ispahan* disguised in Man's Apparel, and find *Arfamus*, who had been his Governor, and was a faithful and wise Man; who would give her Money and Jewels, and a Water which would so disguise his Countenance, that his nearest Friends could not know him; by which means he might hold on his Way to *Rhodes* as he had determined. This Woman soon arrived at *Ispahan*, with the Prince's Tokens, which were some strange Characters, and a Ring, which he usually wore; which *Arfamus* knowing, he intrusted her with a considerable Sum, and several Diamonds, together with a little golden Pot, wherein was this Water before mentioned. This Messenger returning in less than forty Days time, found the Prince dead in the *Grotto*, where he withdrew, with a Paper in his Hand, wherein he intreated the first, which Chance should bring thither, to bury his Body at the Foot of a fair Oak near by; and also intreated the Party which had his Ring to carry it to the *Sophy*, and beg Pardon for the Offence he had given him. *Birkabeb's* Wife then discovered to him all that had happened; led him into the Wood; shewed him the dead Prince, the Letter, the Ring, and the precious Stones; and only reserved to herself the Secret of the Water, which she would not intrust him with. Having after this resolved to go to the *Sophy*, they went together, by whom they were well received and laden with Riches. *Birkabeb* took up his Abode at *Ispahan*, tarrying there four Years, and there led a voluptuous and dishonest Life. Whilst his Wife leaving him, ran away with a young *Persian*, and made several different Voyages into *Asia*, under several Figures, and by means of the Water which she had received of *Arfamus*, she deceived her Husband, and as many Lovers as she pleased.

The unhappy *Birkabeb*, being by his Wife's Lewdness become again poor, resolved at last to return to his own Country, where he died in his House, full of
Years

Years, and in such Repute for Holiness, that the common Report is, He wrought divers Miracles. He left four Sons, of which I knew only *Ababar*, who is he thou mentionest in thy Letter. And this is all I can tell thee of *Birkabeb*, of his Son, and Grandson *Ababar*, whom I look upon as a very honest Man, and in whom I believe thou mayest put Confidence ; yet, with this Reflection, That he which is honest now, may cease to be so. Salute this Person from me, and continue to love me. Answer my first Letter, if thou hast not done it ; and this last also, if it be not too troublesome to thee. Farewel.

Paris, 15th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R XX.

To Egri Boynou, the White Eunuch.

I Am still alive, and in Health ; my Fear has proved vain, and I have escaped the *Cardinal's* Hands without any Danger ; which will make me hope the same good Fortune, should he ever send for me again. But thou shalt not know his Business with me, that being a Secret I am obliged to conceal.

Thou hast, I hope, received the long Letter I wrote thee, containing several Particulars of *Henry IV's* Life. I send thee now several of his Sayings, which may be termed Sentences. Read them with Attention, they are as pleasant as profitable for *Mustapha's* Use ; who will find this great King to have had an invincible Courage in Adversity, and great Clemency and Generosity when he was in his Prosperity : He was Valour itself amongst the Soldiers, wise and pleasant amongst his Courtiers, terrible in Battle, easy and free amongst the Ladies, full of Heat when any Action offered itself, and courteous and affable to all Sorts of People.

Henry

Henry died in the same manner as most of our *Sultans*, that is to say, a violent Death. He had lived fifty-seven Years, and some Months, and reigned about twenty Years. Several of his Courtiers named him, like the first *Cæsar*, *All Womens Husband*; because 'twas believed, he never saw any that he fancied, but he obtained her. He had fourteen Children, six by the Queen, and the others by four of his Mistresses. She who was called the *Beautiful Gabrielle*, of the Family of *Este*, seem'd to have more Power on his Heart, than all others; he often carried her about with him in his Army, and to the Places he besieged in Person. Henry was wont to say, 'Twas as difficult to know how to love well, to prepare a Feast, and to dance at the same time agreeably, as to draw up an Army for Battel, consisting of several Nations.

And when he was more advanced in Years, he said, he loved Dancing, for it made him appear young; he loved Play, for it shewed he could be angry; and Ladies, because he said, he believed a Man ought to love all the Days of his Life.

He was so impatient at Play when he lost, that he seem'd to be as much concerned at the Loss of an hundred Crowns, as at the taking of a City from him.

He often disguised himself like a Peasant, to approach his Mistress without being known; and he has often carried on this Humour to that Degree, as to drive Asses laden with Fruit, and sometimes carry a Truss of Hay on his Shoulders.

When he was peaceably settled in his Kingdom, he said to those who were his greatest Intimates, That he that grew weary at Difficulties, did not deserve those Things which might be acquired without Trouble. I saw my self a King, said he, without having a Kingdom, an Husband without a Wife, a Captain without Soldiers, and liberal without having any Thing to give. I have had, in fine, a Kingdom, Children in lawful Marriage, my Troops are numerous, and I can dispose of several Millions.

This

This Prince has been wounded several times, has received three Wounds in the Wars, and three others on his Throne, in the Calms of Peace. The Actions which have gained him most Glory, have been, the winning of four Battles, whence he came out Conqueror, having very few Troops, and his Enemy having very numerous Armies; The general Peace he gave to Europe; The Reconciliation of the *Venetians* with the *Latin Church*, which had excommunicated them; and, The great Project I spake to thee about in my foregoing Letter.

The *Pope's Nuncio* having one Day ask'd him how long he had made War? His Answer was, *All the Days of my Life; and my Armies have never had any other General but myself.* He was seen once for forty Hours together on Horseback, and he led at that time an unhappy Life, yet he bore up with an invincible Courage, which made his Soldiers call him *the King of Iron.* At the same time he held a Morsel of coarse Bread in one Hand, he would with the other form on the Ground the Design of an Entrenchment; and when he would shew his Friends the finest Gallery of his Palace, he would at the same time lead them down into his Stables to see his Horses. He was wont to say, *That a King who would reign happily, must not do all Things which he may.* He had such a Greatness of Mind, and was so merciful, that he pardoned those who conspired against his Life. He shewed oft to those that were about him, a Soldier that was a Stranger, and had wounded him in a Battle, whom he recompensed for doing his Duty, and made him one of his Guards.

Though he was not learned, yet he read Books of his Religion, and took a singular Pleasure in History, and conversing with learned Men. Hearing one Night the *Annals of France*, and being almost half asleep in his Bed, he bad his Reader continue his Reading, for he would sleep no more that Night.

Having laid Siege to a most important Place, in a most cold Season, he supp'd one Night, wrapt up in his

his Cloak to the Places where the Labourers were at Work, and heard a Soldier there cursing both God and himself; yet, without concerning himself any farther, he whisper'd in the Soldier's Ear, *God hears thee, and the King too, for ought thou knowest; if thou canst not Work, hold thy Peace and be gone.* The Night following, the King setting to Work himself, to excite others, he caus'd this Soldier to be call'd unto him, and thus spake to him, *Help me to remove this Earth, and do not swear, for now the King hears thee.*

To correct the Vices, the Injustices, and Violences of others, he did not use Lessons, but gave Examples. And one Day, that he heard one of his Captains in a Rage, for that his Creditors had seiz'd on all he had, to his Horse and Sword, he thus spake to him; *I that am thy Sovereign have paid my Debts; and sold all that I am wort^h for that End; and thou that art my Subject ought'st to do the same Thing, without murmuring:* And then taking him apart, he gave him some Jewels to help him out.

He often shew'd the Marshal de Biron to his Friends, and thus spake to them about this Captain: *This Man knows how to act, as well as talk; and I have a great Love for him.* Yet he some time after caus'd him to be put to Death, having three times pardoned his Disloyalty. This Captain having continued his Plots against his Life, and against the State; yet remembring he had loved him, he would spare one Part of the Shame of his Punishment, and therefore order'd he should be executed in Prison.

A Scholar, two Monks, and a Fool, attempted at several times to kill him; and, as I have already told thee, he was several Times wounded, and at last received a mortal Stroke. A Woman that had undertaken to poison him was burnt alive; and this foolish Creature said at her Death, thinking to lessen her Crime, *That having foreseen the King was to have been slabb'd to Death by the Hand of a Russian, she would therefore procure him the more easy and honourable Death.*

Henry extremely loved Hunting; and one Day being in Pursuit of a Stag, and far distant from his Company, a great *Spectrum* appear'd to him, with a black and terrible Countenance, with all the Equipage of a Hunter, having a Leash of Dogs, and said these Words to him in a dismal Tone; *Expect me, and bear me, repent and amend thy Life; dost thou understand me? Thou may'st easily believe, this Vision did not a little disturb him. Yet he was more troubled at what a Peasant one Day told him, who spake to him with great Freedom; and his Discourse gave him that Disturbance, which he could never get rid of. This Man talk'd to the Prince often with great Familiarity, when he found him in the Field; and one Day held this Discourse to him: We are here two Men; thou art a great King, and I a poor Peasant; yet I am perhaps a better Man, because I am more innocent: I have said all the Good I can of thy Person to my Friends, being sensible of thy Justice, thy Bounty and Liberality: But all these Virtues are horribly fail'd by a grievous Vice, which God will never forgive thee, unless thou leavest it off; thou committest, Great Prince, continual Adulteries.*

'Tis certain, this Prince acknowledged to some of his Confidants, That he had that Day heard in particular a Preacher, who without any Skill in Theology and Rhetorick, had more moved him than all the Doctors of the *Sorbonne* put together could do. This *Sorbonne* is a College in *Paris*, famous for learned Divines.

This Prince put a pleasant Trick on his *Confessor*, who often urged him to forsake his Mistresses, and content himself with the Embraces of his Wife. He order'd a Cook, who was wont to dress this Doctor's Victuals, to give him nothing to eat but Partridges; which so greatly tired him, that he could not forbear complaining to the King himself, that this Cook was so wilfull and humourfome, that he would let him have nothing but Partridges; so that he grew so weary with that kind of Food, as made him sick at the Thoughts of it: The Prince only answer'd him, *Always the Queen, always Partridges.*

He

He loved learned Men, and was a great Patron of them ; yet he said, That Necessity obliged him to follow Arms, but had he been left to his own Inclination, he would have chosen to have been a Scholar.

He had no great Esteem for *Physicians* ; as believing these kind of People wish ill to Men ; being of *Tiberius's* Mind, who thought that a Man of thirty Years of Age needed them not.

But on the contrary, he most esteemed *Historians*, and gave Pensions to several of them in *Germany, Italy*, and other Places ; saying oft, That if any one could find the Books of *Titus Livy*, which are wanting, and those of *Tacitus*, that he would willingly bestow on him the same Gift of three Cities, which *Xerxes* made to a *Greek* Captain : The one for Bread, the second for Wine, and the third for Cloathing : And therefore there are above fifty Authors who have written his History. He envied *Augustus*, by reason of the Happiness of having so many learned Men in his Reign ; and that he more esteemed *Mæcenas*, living a peaceable Citizen at *Rome*, than *Alexander* triumphing over all *Asia* ; and that *Mæcenas's* patronizing and recompensing illustrious Men that excelled in *Rome* in all Arts, had render'd his Name immortal, together with that of his Sovereign.

He bewailed the great Pains he had taken, to obtain the Command of others ; and for his having learn'd nothing himself ; affirming, It had been better for him to have learn'd to command himself. He was also wont to say, That a wise Prince ought never to refuse a Peace, unless it be found more prejudicial than War.

Being one Day conversing with the *Spanish* Ambassador, he began to talk very fast ; and perceiving the Astonishment of this Minister, *You see*, says he, *that I can still mount on Horse-back, and march on Foot too, if it be necessary ; and that the Gout has not deprived me of the Use of my Legs.* His Valour was so admirable, that a Grandee of *Spain* being at a Ceremony, wherein the Sword of this Prince was carried naked before him, he

stopt openly him that carried it, and kiss'd it, saying, He did this Honour to the Sword of the first and chiefest Captain of the World.

A Chymist one Day presented him with a Receipt to change Lead into Gold, to whom he answer'd, in making a large empty Coffe to be brought to him, *When thou hast filled this Coffe with the Metal thou talkest of, come to me, and I will give thee as much Lead as thou wilt have.*

Being at *Fontainbleau*, a Place famous since several Ages, and shewing all the Buildings there to a foreign Prince, who told him when he had shew'd him the Chapel, *That he had lodged God in too narrow a Compass:* He answer'd, *That God was better lodged in the Heart, than in great Edifices of Stone.*

When he drew the Designs against the *Mussulmans*, which I mention'd in my other Letter, he did an Action of Generosity very beneficial to the *Moors*, who were driven out of *Spain*; permitting above fifty thousand Men, who had past the *Pyrenees*, to embark themselves in the Ports of *Provence* and *Languedoc*, to retire into *Africk*. I cannot call to mind that Time, without bewailing the Loss of a Million of Persons, who perish'd by divers Accidents and Miseries.

After a Battle, wherein *Henry* ran a great Hazard, he said, *He had often fought for Victory, but at this Time he fought for his Life.*

He had used more Boots than Shoes; and he vaunted he had been less Time in Bed, than the Duke of *Mayenne* had been at Table; this latter commanding then the Army of the *League*.

This King desired to be thought a real Father to his Subjects; he therefore applied himself in searching the Means of redressing the infamous Abuses of the Bar; but he advanced not much in the Business, whatever Care he used; it being impossible for him to bridle the Covetousness of the *Lawyers*, and to hinder the Length of Suits, or correct the Injustice of *Judges*, to leave nothing to be done by his Successors. He seemed to be much troubled many times, when he spake of these kind

kind of Things, in that there was in *Paris*, more Courts and Lawyers, than in all the vast Empire of the *Turks*; his Design being, after the Example of the *Mussulmans*, to make all Suits, which were everlasting by the Knavery of the Lawyers, to be decided in three Days. And he therefore designed also to burn the Books of all those who had written infinite Commentaries on this Subject; which served only to ruin the People, and caused oftentimes amongst Relations, Friends, and Neighbours, such Broils, as may be said to do more Mischief than a Civil War. He affirmed, that in imitating herein the *Turks*, he should use his Subjects as his real Children, and hinder them from devouring one another; that he would cause sharp Nails and Razors to be fasten'd to the Seats where the Judges sat, that those who suffered themselves to be corrupted, might sit thereon: And indeed in this Particular, I cannot but wonder at the *Christians* Blindness.

We see oftentimes, decided in one only Campaign, the Differences of two great States; but a Suit in Law for twenty Sequins, shall often last a Man's whole Life, and perhaps be entailed on his Heirs.

But hear a remarkable Example of the Sincerity of this Sovereign. There were who would have persuaded him to have apprehended the Duke of Savoy, who came to *Paris* to terminate some Differences he had with him. He answer'd those that advised him, with this, *That Francis the First, one of his Predecessors, had taught him, a Prince was more obliged to do what he had promised, than to obtain what he desir'd; that 'twas in his Power to have apprehended a Prince far more considerable, but would not do it, suffering the Emperor Charles the Fifth to pass out of his Kingdom, who had come thercinto on his Word* After this, added he, *Shall Henry give such an Example to Princes? If the Duke of Savoy has often broke his Word with me, it does not therefore follow I must imitate him: Crimes can never be authoriz'd by Examples.* The same Duke of Savoy having asked him, *What Revenue he drew from his Kingdom?* He answer'd

him in these Terms, *I draw as much as I will, because I make myself beloved; whence it is, that my Subjects count all our Estates are common.*

He answered very pleasantly to a Prince's Envoy, who came with a Compliment of Condolance for the Death of his Son, who had been dead near a Year; *That he was no longer griev'd at that Loss, seeing God had given him two more since.*

A Captain of great Reputation having said, *That the King's Liberalities, tho' several times reiterated, could not oblige him to love him; Henry sent him word, He would heap so many Favours on him, that he would force him at last.*

He often used this Proverb, *More Flies are taken with a Drop of Honey, than a Ton of Vinegar.*

A Monk entertaining him one Day about military Affairs; *Open your Breviary, Father, said he, and shew me where you learn'd these fine Lessons.*

One Day a Taylor presenting him with a Book of *Politicks*, he said to the Chancellor, who was there present: *Monfieur Chancellor, cut me out a Suit of Cloaths; here's a Taylor who understands your Trade, and tells me how I shall govern my Kingdom.*

One Day, when the Pope's Nuncio was at a great Feast, where there were between twenty and thirty Ladies of great Beauty, he told this Prelate, *He had been in several Battles, but never found himself in so great Danger before.*

Nothing seems more agreeable than the Answer he made to the Provost of the Merchants at Paris, who was urgent with him to consent to an Impost, which was to be laid on the Fountain of the Town, to furnish the Expences of forty Deputies of *Switzers*, who came into France to renew their ancient Alliance with this Kingdom; and his Answer was, *That this Magistrate should find some other Expedient, than to change Water into Wine; which was a Miracle that never any body wrought but Jesus Christ; who is, as thou knowest, the Christians Saviour; and for thy further Instructions, 'tis necessary for thee to know, the*
Switzers

Switzers love Wine above all Things in the World, and that not without Reason.

This Prince went to the Wars at the Age of fifteen, and at seventeen kill'd an Enemy, and in the Year following he saved the Life of one of his Captains, and had his Horse kill'd under him. He was in five Battles, and in more than an hundred Combats, and at the Siege of above two hundred Places. He sustain'd seven different Wars, in which his Enemies acknowledged, that he had fifty Armies upon him at several Times, and in different Places, and always obtain'd some considerable Advantage.

Those that have given him the Term of *Great*, have given him his true Name. He was highly esteemed by all Nations; and thou knowest very well, that our *Sultans*, tho' the mightiest Monarchs in the Universe, have admired this great Prince's Fortune and Valour.

Above fifty *Historians* have written his Life; above five hundred *Poets* have publish'd his Praises.

I will leave thee at present the Liberty of comparing this King with those whom thou wilt chuse from amongst the Heroes.

If *Mahomet XI.* has not done more than him, he may be compared to him in warlike Actions, with this Difference, That King *Henry* conquer'd the *Gauls* who were of his Patrimony, and *Mahomet* conquer'd twelve Kingdoms and an Empire, because he was persuaded that all the Earth belonged to him. *Henry* subdued the City of *Paris*, and *Mahomet* made himself Master of *Constantinople*.

The King of *France* left an infinite Number of Marks behind him of his Grandeur, on Marble, and in the Writings of famous Authors, and *Mahomet* left only on his Tomb, those which shewed what he had designed to execute, but never could do it, which was, to take *Rhodes*, and subdue proud *Italy*.

We must also acknowledge, there was never found in any *Mahometan* Prince, the admirable Clemency of *Henry*, shewing himself herein greater than in vanquishing his Enemies: Contrary to *Mahomet*, who

shewed only great Kindness to an Ox, whom he caused to be carefully fed, because he would never forsake the Tomb of his Master, whom that Prince had kill'd, abiding always by it, and expressing his Sorrow by horrible Bellowings. On all other Occasions he was very cruel; far from the Humour of this *French* King, who heap'd Benefits on those who drew Blood of him. *Mahomet*, by a barbarous Cruelty, caused the Bellies of twenty of his innocent Pages to be ript open, to discover him that had eaten a Melon in his Garden.

Henry was a great Lover of Ladies, and an extreme Admirer of that Sex; and *Mahomet*, jealous of the too great Beauty of his Mistress, cut off her Head himself in a full *Divan*. And farther, if *Mahomet* gave in the East, a great Example of Justice, in putting his own Son to Death, for deflouring the Daughter of the *Bassa Achmet* in a Bath; *Henry* gave a greater in his own Person, in repairing at the Head of his Army, the Outrage offer'd to a young Girl, from whom he could not fear any vexatious Consequences.

Be sure, however, to be silent in the Judgments I make, and shew thy self discreet, if thou intendest to hold any Correspondence with me.

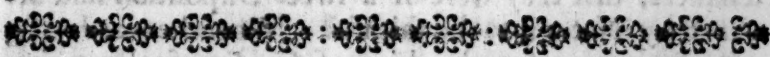
Imitate the Bees; gather from so many Flowers presented thee, what appears to thee the sweetest and most proper to form *Mustapha's* Mind, and supple his Spirit like Wax.

I could relate to thee more Things touching this *Henry*, but there's no Necessity of writing all; that thou may'st have Space to imagine what such a Prince might have done, who had re-established his Fortune by his Valour alone.

Let me know of thy Departure; and when thou shalt arrive at the Place of thy Retrear, forget not thy faithful Friend *Mahmut*, who wishes thou may'st prove an happy Tutor to the Son of a Prince, and a faithful Minister of a wise Emperor.

Paris, 18th of the 2d Moon, of the Year 1639.

The End of the Second Book.



LETTERS

Writ by

A SPY *at* PARIS.

BOOK III.

LETTER I.

To Muslu Reis Effendi, *Principal Secretary of the Ottoman Empire.*

SCARCE had I finished my Letter to *Egri Boinou*, when News came from the Coast of *Provence*, of so extraordinary and scandalous an Event, that I cannot but inform thee, who art a wise and experienc'd Person of it; and because I would have thee set it down in the sacred Register-Books of the Empire of which thou hast the Charge.

Assam Bassa, a Corsary of *Algiers*, died at the Age of forty Years; the Relation of whose Death was attended with such horrid Circumstances, that even the Enemies of the *Alcoran* do detest them.

'Tis said, that being sensible he was near his End, he caused two young *Christian* Slaves to be strangled, who were nobly descended, and for whose Ransom great Sums of Money might have been expected, without alledging any Reason for his Cruelty; nay, after he had confessed he had no Cause of Complaint against them, having observ'd from certain Tokens in their Coun-

tenances, that they were of a sweet Disposition and inclined by Nature to be faithful. When he was laying out, there were found a kind of fine Scarf about him, with these Words embroider'd on it in Letters of Gold; *Assam Bassa will have the handsomest of his Slaves to be buried alive with him, being desirous of good Company in his Voyage into the other World.*

The Report of so terrible an Adventure, has increased the Hatred of the *French* against us, and that in so excessive a Manner, that I am forced to keep myself concealed, lest I should by my Zeal discover myself, being not able to endure the Blasphemies of our Enemies. There's no Question but this cruel Monster is kept by the *Black Angels* in the other World.

God grant that so horrid a Crime may not corrupt the rest of *Africk*. However, may I be so free as to counsel you, let the Body of this impious Wretch *Assam* be dug up, and burnt, and his Ashes thrown into the Sea, to drown the Memory of him.

Mahmut salutes thee from the Town of the Universe, the fullest of Noise; and wishes thee at *Constantinople*, or where-ever else thou art, a long Sequel of happy Years, and after Death the Enjoyment of the *Bliss of our hundred twenty four thousand Prophets*.

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER II.

To the Invincible Vizir Azem, at the Camp
under Babylon.

BEfore I give thee an Account, Great and Magnanimous *Vizir*, of whatever I have done to satisfy the Curiosity of Cardinal *Richlieu*, I am obliged to tell thee how I spend my leisure Hours.

Ta

'Tis impossible I should observe exactly the Motions of this Court, without following it, and holding a Correspondence with People of all Sorts, as Tradesmen, Soldiers, Scholars, Seamen, Politicians, and even Musicians.

The Court consists of all these Professions, and there are some particular Persons, who are Masters of all these Sciences, of which Number is Cardinal *Richlieu*. He is not content with this his Knowledge, but seeks still for further Light in the Commerce of all Persons of Merit who arrive here ; neglecting nothing which may enrich this Kingdom with new Discoveries in Arts and Sciences, out of Love to his Country, and Desire to render his Ministry more famous.

Thou seest by this, invincible *Bassa*, that to keep Company with Courtiers, who have so many different Qualities, a Man must have some for his Share, that he may say something in his Turn, and not be always a bare Hearer of other People's Talk.

For this Purpose, the particular Study, to which I apply'd my self whilst I was a Slave in *Sicily*, does much help me, though not sufficiently. 'Twas Books I read in this Island, not Men. Now, knowing my Business required much Dissimulation, an awakened Mind, and especially Prudence, Eloquence, and Learning, to speak properly on Occasions ; great Reading to obtain the Knowledge of ancient and modern Things ; a refined Policy, to discover or conceal one's self, and to counterfeit sometimes a mighty honest Man : Nothing I say, appeared to me more conducing to this Purpose, than the turning over Histories ; and therefore I have earnestly applied my self to this Work. And because few Books are not sufficient, and a great many breed Confusion, I happily got Admission into the Acquaintance of an ancient learned Man, whose Study consists of none but choice Books, and has travelled over most Parts of the World ; not like *Appollonius*, to learn the Languages of Birds and Beasts ; but to know the Customs, Laws, Virtues, and Defect of Nations. I was first for informing my self of all the Prodigies

which the *God* of the *Jews* has done in Favour of that ungrateful People. I afterwards enquired into the Life and Doctrine of the *Messias*, whom the Christians worship. I also look'd into what had been done considerable at *Athens*, and *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*; those so famous Places, and found that the great Philosophers and Captains, who made such a Noise about their Religions, had at Bottom none at all. Having run over what the Christians call the *Old* and *New Testament*, the Histories of *Josephus*, *Xenophon*, *Polybius*, *Thucydides*, *Livius* and *Tacitus*, my greatest Application has been, and shall be for the future, to read and meditate on the Works of the great *Plutarch*, especially his Lives of illustrious *Greeks* and *Romans*, related by him with so great Exactness. And thus far I have arrived in this short Space, and here I have stopt. I have learn'd by the Reading of *Plutarch*, to amuse the Cardinal *Richlieu*; to whom I offered myself two Days ago, and have put into his Hands the following Discourse, made after the Manner of *Christians*, and have stript myself, if a Man may so speak, of the Manner and Style of the *Turks*, as I have done of their Habits, the better to disguise *Titus*, the Faithful Slave of the great *Amurath*.

Great CARDINAL, and most Sage MINISTER
of the Greatest of Christian KINGS.

TITUS of *Mo'davia* is come to wait on you, according to your Commands, not to entertain you with the Riches of *Asia*, nor in what Manner, by the Wisdom of your Counsels, and Forces of the King your Sovereign, you may destroy the mighty *Turkish Empire*, of whom you have no Reason to complain; but, to tell you what seems most agreeable to the Greatness of your Genius. Know then, Sage Moderator of the French Monarch, that I shall not offer any thing which may make you hate me, and repent
of

of believing, seeing, what I propose, is an easy Enterprize, and full of Glory. Thy King has a Son, who will one Day inherit the Greatness and Authority of his Father; you know not the Temper and Dispositions which this Heir may have, being as yet so much a Child, that a Man cannot gather any thing certain of this Matter. But, a Prince that has been so long look'd for, requires extraordinary Designs to be laid for him, and great Preparations made betimes to raise a Palace that may be worthy to entertain him. I would propose to you a Palace, I say, of miraculous Architecture, the like was never seen or imagined, and which you may with your own Hands rear up in Paris; which must be of a square Form, whose Corners shall regard Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and whose Riches shall draw all Nations to it. You will not need Stone, Sand, Wood, nor Iron for this Work. The Architects which you shall employ, shall have the Secret, with their Pen, Ink, and Paper, to raise this Edifice, which shall be of a more lasting Durance, than the Pantheon of Agrippa, and whereon, as on the Temple of Solomon, there should be no Noise of Hammers.

Think not, wise Minister, they are Chimæra's which Titus has in his Head. Hear then the Design of this Majestical Palace, whose Foundations are already laid by Plutarch, with Materials more precious than Gold or Rubies. Thou knowest the Happiness this Philosopher had, of rendering immortal the Actions of so many Great Men, of whom, perhaps, there might have been no mention, had Plutarch lain silent. Men now read in the most remote Provinces of the Indies, written on Leaves and Barks of Trees, the Lives of Alexander, Cæsar, Scipio, Pompey, and Xerxes. Amongst the Solitaries of the Most desert

desert Parts of Arabia, and amongst the Dervises, who dwell at Medina, are found written in Arabian Characters, the Histories of Nama, Aristidas, Cato, Lycurgus, and Epaminondas. The Spaniards and Portugueses have rendered this Author so famous in China and Japan, that these Barbarians, not contented with having translated into their Languages all the Lives of the Greeks and Romans, they have order'd (if I mistake not) that every Five Years new Copies be made, to the Ends they may be eternally preserved. I have seen my self at Constantinople above an hundred Volumes in Silken Paper, wherein the Works of this famous Greek are read with Veneration by the greatest Captains, Lawyers, and Divines; and these Works are enrich'd with the most curious Notes in Arabick and Persian, and the Turkish Language, by the express Orders of the Sultans, who make them be preserved as illustrious Monuments of the ancient Greek Eloquence. You are not ignorant of the Esteem which Solymán the Great, had of Pompey, Cæsar, Pyrrhus, and Alexander; and that he never undertook any military Enterprize, till he had consulted these great Masters in the Art of War; being wont to say, He knew not whether Alexander or Pyrrhus, had shewed more Valour in Engagements, than Plutarch had shewed Wit and Judgment in describing them. But in a Voyage I made into Germany, what did not an old Rabbin tell me, in shewing me Lives of illustrious Men of this incomparable Author, translated into Hebrew, which he carried ever about with him? He assured me, that the Curious of his Religion set such a Value on them, that there are above ten thousand Manuscript Copies dispersed in the Synagogues, both in the Eastern and Western Parts.

Men,

Men, Women, and Children know of what account this famous Author is in all our Europe. He now speaks all Languages: The English, the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Polanders, and Hollanders, have naturalized him among them. And you know very well, Sir, that in this Kingdom of France, the Learned not content with having him translated into their Idiom, they carefully adorn their Libraries with this Author in his own natural Tongue, and have collected the Latin, Italian, and Spanish Versions of him.

But 'tis now sixteen hundred Years since Plutarch keeps Silence; so many Men famous for their Knowledge, and so many great Captains who have lived since, are unknown to the World, because they have met with no Plutarch to know them, And this is the stately Building which I offer you to finish who are so great a Lover of Glory: For God has given you a Mind, with a necessary Power to finish what Plutarch has so profitably begun. Raise up immediately, by your Authority, on the precious Foundation, which this incomparable Philosopher has laid, the Walls and Roof of this vast Building. Order Lodgings to be made ready for all the Heroes who could not enter into this first Edifice; I mean the illustrious Dead, whose Lives have not been carefully collected, and who should honour Europe, Asia and Africa, where they were born; and the New World will yield you where-with to fill this Palace with Atabalippa's and Montezuma's.

Hereby wilt thou be the Restorer of those Ruins which Time has made; and in raising the Statues of so many excellent Persons in Civil Administrations, in War and in good Letters, you will raise up an infinite Number throughout the World, as the first Emperor of the Romans did. 'Tis to no purpose to say, there are a great many Authors that have written
since

since Plutarch, the Actions of several great Commanders, Kings and great Ministers, whose Virtues were eminently conspicuous both in Peace and War. I hope, I shall not give just Offence, in saying That few of these Writers have observed Plutarch's excellent Method; for, either they appear obscure, by reason of their great Conciseness, or the Facts are ordinarily confounded in General Histories, or written by interested or passionate Pens, who disguise the Truth, and impose fabulous Relations on the World. For a Proof of this, be pleased to examine particular Events related in the Lives of Francis I. King of France, and the Emperor Charles V. and you will find there are those who assure us, that Charles died a Saint, and that scarcely was he expired when Flower-de-Luces were seen to spring up in his Chamber, which yielded a most admirable Scent, Whilst others affirm, That this Hero died an Heretick, by the Assistance of his Confessor, who had embraced the Lutheran Doctrine. And how many Romances are made of Francis I? Has it not been said, That he fought a Duel with this Emperor; and that this Prince passing through France, the King, by a Motive of Generosity (beyond any Precedent) offered him his Kingdom? That Charles had one Day sat on France's Throne, and condemned a Malefactor, and afterwards reprieved him, as a Mark of his Authority? And has it not been moreover said, That Francis took Charles in a Battel? How many false Relations have been made of Andrew Doria, and Barbarossa, two famous Sea-Captains, tho' one a Christian, and the other a Mussulman, and both of them Chief-Admirals of two mighty Emperors, Charles V. and Solyman? Has it not been confidently affirm'd, That Barbarossa being in the Archipelago, gave a Visit in the Disguise of a Monk to Doria? That in an Island

Island where this Interview was made, they had sworn, on the Gospel, and the other on the Alcoran, to help one another to conserve their Authority which their Employes gave them at Sea ; and to make themselves more necessary to their Sovereigns, they were always to avoid a decisive Combat, that they might not ruin one another : That they had moreover both signed this Treaty with their own Blood ? Has there not been added to this Fable, That the Turkish Admiral sent to Doria a Moor, who pretended to be a Fugitive from the Ottoman Army, and wore two Pearls of an inestimable Price in his Ears, and that in Exchange Doria had assured Barbarossa not to interrupt him, whenever he pleased to invade any of the Coasts of Italy.

It is time, that under thy auspicious Conduct, the Lives of great Personages be cleared from these false Relations which corrupt them, and be orderly inserted into the Books of the most excellent Plutarch, with such a kind of Title :

Here's the rest of the Lives of Illustrious Men, from the Emperor Trajan, to Lewis the Just, of those that have excelled in Arms, Learning, Affairs of State, and of those who have held the first Rank in the Church in all Parts of the World ; and these Histories have been collected by a College of the Learnedst Men in Europe, consisting of Spaniards, French, Italians, and Germans, under the auspicious Conduct of his Eminency Cardinal Richlieu.

I would have Three Persons of each Nation to attend this Work, and who should make their Abode in Paris, as being the principal City in France. And I propose Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and French, as the most polish'd Nations, and who have furnished the World with the most able Men. Now every Nation having its particular way of Speaking and Act-
ing,

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ing,

ing, the Edifice will be the more agreeable, and each Architect will have greater Room to shew his Skill. Those who shall read these Works, will find in the Softness of the French Style, wherewithal to mollify the too severe Gravity of the Spanish Eloquence. The Sincerity of the Germans, ever attended with some kind of Dryness, will appear without Rudeness with the Flowers and good Sense of the Italian Writers. And, as the World will be interested in this magnificent Design; so we must not doubt but the wisest of all these States will take care in the choice of Subjects which they will propose. And, in fine, if thou wilt have the chief Men in the World, thou needest not want the Secret of raising up Plutarch's. Be not weary of giving Marks of thy Liberality; for, if thou wilt have Titus Livy's, become Mœcenas.

It doth not belong to me to say in what manner 'tis necessary on this Occasion, to separate them of several Nations, and to distribute these Employments: Thou art equitable and prudent, so that this Work being begun, the End will have a Success answerable to its Beginning. I shall only put thee in mind, that thou wilt not a little contribute to render thy Immortality more glorious, if thou remembrest the Turks thy sworn Enemies; being persuaded thou may'st find amongst the Ottoman Emperors, Bassa's and Viziers, wherewithal to enrich the new Plutarch. Let not the Greatness of the Work discourage thee; how great soever it be, thy Wit and Courage are above it; and thou wilt not want ancient and modern Authors to assist thee. Suetonius will furnish thee with the Lives of the Cæsars, which may be left entire as they are. Diogenes Laertius gives as good an Account of many of the Philosophers. You'll receive Advantage from the Works of Æmilius Probus, Paulus, Jovius, and
several

several others, who have acquired immortal Reputation by the Books which they have given the Publick. You will find a Draught already made of the History of two hundred and twenty eight Emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Ferdinand III. and Ibrahim I. the one Emperor of Germany, and the other of Turkey; which thou shalt cause to be carefully examined by the College, to clear up such Things as are obscure, adding what is wanting, and retrenching Events of which there is no sufficient Proof, and which seem fabulous; and, in a Word, for drawing up particular Lives which are to be met with in general Histories, which have been the Method of most Writers of late Ages.

I would also have Plutarch's Manner followed, of comparing the Illustrious Men of one Nation with those of another; where the discreet Writer having weighed the Reasons which make for the one and the other, pronounces a Sentence which does both delight and instruct the Reader.

The most important Instruction then which can be given, being the Secret of knowing Men perfectly, who seek with so great Care to bide themselves; the true Means for this, is the Choice of Matter, that the Reader may not lose his Time, nor study in vain, but gather the Fruit which all Men of Sense search for, which is, to know what is Good, that they may follow it, and Evil, to avoid it. On this Ground you will be easily persuaded, there's greater Pleasure to behold the Firmness of Scipio, who passes with one only Galley to find out Siphax, than there is in considering him, when he gives Battle to Hannibal in the Plains of Rama. We are more edified in seeing this young General a Conqueror, and yet so continent, as to send the finest Woman in the World, who was his Prisoner, to Lucius the Spanish Prince, her Husband,

band, without touching her ; than in the Relation of an hundred Sieges of Places, where the Effects which the Soldiers Fury produces, Hunger and Thirst, and the Effusion of Human Blood, yields Horror instead of Diversion. . In the like manner, Sir, you will acknowledge, That a Prince, or Captain, will be more instructed by seeing Francis, who lived like a King, though in Prison at Madrid, who caresses and recompences Learned Men all the World over ; and in seeing Fabricius, who refuses and despises the greatest Honours which are offered him with immense Riches, and who snatches away the Poyson from the Mouth of the greatest Enemy of the Roman People ; than all the Combats and most bloody Battels fought by Pyrrhus, Charles V. and the Great Tamerlane.

I have made you this long Discourse, as a Mark of my Obedience ; and Titus of Moldavia, at the Feet of your Eminency, supplicates you to consider, that when by your Negotiations, Counsels and Armies which receive your Orders, you shall have added new Kingdoms to that which your Master holds ; when for the Benefit of Trade and Navigation, you shall have join'd all the Seas together ; and when, in a Word you shall raise Bridges in Paris, Pyramids with more Palaces than were built by the Cæsars, and all the Kings of Ægypt : These Piles will not be immortal, but subject to the Injuries of Time. Whereas, on the contrary, if you send for the twelve Architects which I mentioned, to raise the stately Palace afore-cited, all the World will bless the Name of Armand Cardinal de Richlieu, Restorer of the Republic of Learning almost ruined : And who, like another Archimedes, hath known by the Examples of the Virtue of illustrious Men, snatch'd away by Death out of the World, to combat and destroy the Vices and Ignorances of the Living.

If thou approveſt not, magnanimous *Vizir*, what I offered to the King of *France's* Miniſter, puniſh me not for a Fault which was not deſign'd, having on the contrary, imagin'd to do thee a very agreeable piece of Service. I thought, I could not take a better Courſe to conceal thy *Slave Mahmut*, and to divert this Cardinal from ſome Projects, which I am inform'd he deſigns againſt the *Turkiſh* Empire. Should he undertake the Great Work I ſet before him, thou ſeeſt the *Sultans* will have ſome Share in it; and he will, I ſay again, have by this means, not to mention any thing elſe, his Hands ſo full of Buſineſs, that he will not have the leaſt Time or Ability to moleſt us.

I ſupplie thee, proſtrate at thy Feet, to call to mind the general Diſlike of what happen'd to *Athens*, when 'twas ſacked and taken; ſuch prodigious Numbers of Books being burnt in all Arts and Sciences, which had been a collecting ſeveral Ages, and preſerved with ſuch great Care; and ſo much the more, inasmuch as one may be aſſured, there's nothing to be feared from thoſe that make Learning their whole Buſineſs, who are always averſe to War, as finding their Reckoning only in the Tranquility of a well-eſtabliſhed Peace.

Thou ſhalt receive, by the firſt Opportunity, whatever I can diſcover of Importance for thee to know, either for the Good of the Empire, in which thou holdeſt ſo great a Rank, or to ſatisfy thy Curioſity, provided the Froſts hinder not the Paſſage of Couriers, as they will aſſuredly retard the Progreſs of the Armies, which are conſtrained to lie ſtill during this rigorous Season.

God give thee an entire Victory over the Enemies of the mighty *Amurath*, and make thee the Conqueror of all Nations.

Paris, 28th of the 3^d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R I I I .

To Lubano Abufei-Saad, an Ægyptian Knight.

THE King some Days ago, was present at a Ball where there was a great Number of Persons of Quality of both Sexes. Cardinal *Richlieu*, who never loses the Sight of this Prince was there also. 'Twas observed, that at the End of this Divertisement, the Cardinal would have gone out before every Body, but dared not; and indeed, could not get through the Crowd; which made him so impatient, as was remarked by all, even the King himself; who taking him a little a-part, very seriously bid him pass on, seeing *he was Master*. Now, what did this Minister do in this Astonishment, but answer nothing? And taking a *Flambeau* out of the Hand of one of the Pages, he carried it himself before the King, with a Countenance that shewed neither Despite nor Confusion. Those that took Notice of the Name of *Master*, which the King had given him, interpreted it in his Favour; and there were them who thought, that in abasing himself *so low*, he plainly shewed the Design he had of raising himself the *higher*; however, every one thereon spake what he thought most proper.

I give thee an Account of this Passage, remembering what thou didst in the Presence of thy Master, throwing thyself out at a Window, to take up a little Note which *Amurath* by chance had let fall; which Action of thine, being known in this Country, this Action of the Cardinal was compared with it; yet with this Difference, that the Cardinal, without rising from the Ground, has made a greater Leap than thou. God preserve thee falling into a *Precipice*, if thou beest Fool enough to leap a second Time.

Paris, 28th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R

LETTER IV.

To Mehemet, Page-Eunuch.

THOU hast recover'd from a great Sicknefs, and I expect one. I have had for some Days a Faintnefs, which does extremely deprefs me ; but by the Grace of God, I need not yet the Phyfician. The Letter which I receiv'd from thee this Moon, has given me fome Eafe in my Indifpofition, which is no new Thing with me, being neceffitated to live fo far from my Friends, Country, yea, and Religion too. And tho' it may feem difficult to be a Saint, in paffing one's Days in a profane Place, yet think not my Piety grows luke-warm, or my Friendfhip diminifh'd ; feeing I have made a *Mofque* of my Heart, where Friends are ever prefent. Be then perfuaded, 'tis impoffible for *Mahmut* to become unfaithful, and lofe the Affection he has for his Friends ; for he never ceafes to love where he has once begun. 'Tis true indeed, that I call myfelf *Titus* at prefent, and am cloath'd in an odd Sort of Drefs : Yet this is no Hindrance of my Affection to my Religion, my Country, and my Friends.

The ancient *Greeks* have written a great deal about Friendfhip, and the Duties of a Friend : But there remains ftill behind more than what they have faid, as there remains more to do than they have done. The Word *Friend* is a common Name, and appropriated by moft People ; but where wilt thou find a Man that gives Proofs of a true and unfeigned Friendfhip ? I think I am no Hypocrite ; be thou as true to me at *Conftantinople*, and inform me what paffes in the *Seraglio*, and how it goes with our Friends and Relations in all Parts.

I fhall give thee an Account of the Tranfactions of the Infidels, amongft whom I live, being tired with writing them to the *Grand Vizir* and the *Kaimacham*. Imitate me not herein, for thou aboundeft

est with Leisure; let me then hear from thee every every Moon.

I have had several Fits of Laughter, at the pleasant Adventure of the Chamber-Maid to the old Slave, with the Eunuch *Melech Aubi*. Blessings on the Heart of *Mahomet*: I believe the *Holy Prophet* will laugh himself in his *Paradise*, when the Angel his Messenger, who brings News from this World, shall give him an Account of what these two Persons have ridiculously done in Honour of him. Could there ever be a greater Simplicity, than to eat every Night a Versicle of the *Alcoran*, written on a Piece of *China Sattin*? Whence did this Eunuch, thy Comrade, learn this strange Superstition; and by what Spirit did he authorize that of this Slave, in taking the Pains to write these Versicles with his own Hand? And when could they imagine both of them, they should make an End of this Feast, seeing the whole *Alcoran* could not be eaten in less than six thousand forty three Days, the Book containing so many Versicles. Pray let me know what is done to them. They deserve not, in my poor Judgment, an over-rigorous Punishment, their Crime being only a ridiculous Devotion. The great and venerable *Mufti* will soon decide the Business; yet I would fain know the Manner.

I shall now impart to thee an Account of a Visit which I gave a *Solitary* in my Travels into *Germany*, who spent his Days far from the Commerce of the World, in a little Hermitage, about fifteen Miles Distance from *Vienna*. This Man, who is now very old, has pass'd forty Years of his Life in great Austerity, doing every thing our famous *Santons* are celebrated for; and thou shalt know what moved him to this severe Penance, and to retire after this Manner. 'Tis said, that in his Youth, having been threaten'd for some Misdemeanor, with Imprisonment, he hid himself in the House of a faithful Friend, lying in a Barrel covered over with Straw, where was brought him privately his Diet. Whilst he thus lay concealed in the Vessel, a certain Person went up into the Garret his Prison, with

with his Host's Sister ; when these two Persons thinking themselves alone, came to such Familiarities as much scandalized this new *Diogenes*, who saw all that pass'd through the Crevises of his Tub ; and being not able to contain his Resentments, he thus passionately brake out, *God sees you, you Wretches, and Man too.* In a Word, his Indignation was so great, that the Tub or Barrel was overthrown ; with the Noise of which, and his scrambling up, the two Lovers were so affrighted, that the Gallant for Haste broke his Neck down Stairs, and the Nymph lay dead in a Swoon on the Place. This strange Surprize to all, especially the Sight of so filthy and tragical a Spectacle, so affected this young Man, as made him retire from the World into the Solitude where he now remains. He lives only on Bread and Water ; and the Aversion which he has conceived on this Occasion to Women, is so great that there's none dares appear before him. There were two who had the Curiosity of seeing this Hermit in Men's Cloaths, but they soon repented of their Visit ; for this *Solitary*, full of Rage and Indignation, thus welcomed them, *Get you gone, you Dæmons, fallen from Heaven for Man's Destruction ; I know very well what you are, and cannot behold you without Horror.* He makes excellent Exhortations to young Men who visit him, and having shewed them the Care they ought to take to live with Purity, and rule their Passions, to which corrupt Nature renders them subject ; he also exhorts them to hold a Glass before their Faces, when seized with Anger, or when carried forth to the Commission of any brutish or unseemly Action.

My Letter is longer than I intended ; receive, as a Mark of my Friendship, the long Time I have entertained my self with thee, when I thought at first to speak all in two Words. Give this Letter, directed to thee, into *Zelim's* own Hands ; it contains Things which concern his Life. As to what remains, love ever thy faithful *Mahmut*, whilst I shall pray the Sovereign of the greatest Monarchs, as well as other

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Men,

Men that he would, after this Life, give us eternal Felicity, and the Grace to appear Innocent before his dreadful Tribunal, at which all Men shall be judged.

Paris, 28th of the 3^d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER V.

To Zelim of Rhodes, Captain of a Galley.

M*Ehemet*, Page of the *Seraglio*, will deliver or cause to be delivered to thee this Letter, which is written to thee by *Mahmut*, Slave and Faithful Minister of the great *Sultan*, the invincible and happy *Amurath*, who commands me to serve him in these Parts. There is no necessity of my sending thee the Picture of a Man who sets forth from *Leghorn* for *Constantinople*, with a Design to kill thee. Thou may'st easily know him, seeing he has been six Years a Slave in thy Galley. *Adonai* the Jew sent me this Advice from *Genoa*, so important for thy Life; adding, he set out with his Brother. being resolved to perish, or be revenged of a great Injury thou hast done him.

He has filled *Italy* with Discourses of thy Cruelties. He affirms, That having tried all Ways to make him a *Turk*, seeing neither Presents nor Promises could persuade him, thou hast made him suffer the most cruel Torments a Man can undergo; and that being laid fast asleep, by a Potion which thou caused'st him to take, thou hast made him be castrated. The Weapons he bears to rid himself of thee, will strike thee without Noise, so that thou needest be much on thy Guard. He hides that which is to do thy Business in a little Prayer-Book. Revenge, which does usually make Men industrious, has put him upon concealing in this Manual, a little poyson'd Steel Dart, which is enclosed with such great Art in the Leather that covers

vers it, that it is shot thence as from a Bow, and strikes with such Violence and Swiftneſs, that the Stroke can't be avoided, nor ſcarcely felt by him that receives it, it cauſing not one Drop of Blood to follow, nor Wound to be ſeen ; ſo delicately tempered is the mortal Weapon, that the Man does unavoidably die, whom it hits.

I do not doubt but this revengeful Spirit will cunningly conceal himſelf, ſo that 'twill be hard to diſcover him. But having had this Advice, it belongs to thee to take care of thy ſelf. And in the mean time, correct this cruel and ſevere Temper of thine. Thou commandeſt a Galley mann'd with Slaves, who live at thy Charge ; thou reckoneſt amongſt thy Riches three hundred *Chriſtians*, who dreſs thy Gardens, and ſerve thee at Sea ; and thou haſt never remembred, they are Men which may ſave, or take away thy Life ; and that ranging the Seas as thou doſt, 'tis poſſible thou may'ſt meet with the ſame Fortune, and be made a Slave thyſelf. Thou haſt never conſidered, that Death is more ſupportable than Slavery ; and that thoſe that deſpiſe their own Lives, are Maſters of thine. *God* preſerve thee, and incline thine Heart to uſe gently thy Slaves, who are ſo uſeful to thee. Follow my Advice ; thou haſt three hundred Enemies in thy Houſe, do what in thee lies to gain their Love. Learn this of a famous *Roman*, who made his Slaves, born in his Houſe, to be nurs'd with the ſame Milk his Children were. If thou art not for ſuch an Indulgence, at leaſt, ceaſe to be cruel, otherwiſe thou wilt be more a Slave, than thoſe that ſerve thee. If thou wilt not ſpare theſe People in love to them, pity their Condition, and ſpare them in love to thy ſelf ; whereby thou wilt live in ſo great Tranquility as cannot be imagin'd. The *Holy Prophet* guard thee from the Danger threatned thee, and deſtroy this raſh *Chriſtian* who would aſſaſſinate thee.

Paris, 18th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER VI.

*To the Invincible Vizir Azem, at the Camp
before Babylon.*

THERE are various Discourses here of the *Grand Signior's* warlike Preparations. And 'tis common for People to confound here, the ancient *Babylon* with *Susa* and *Bagdet*; but this is no great Matter. 'Tis certain all the *Infidels* Wishes are in thy Favour; for they desire to see thee Conqueror, not only of *Babylon*, but all the *East*; that *Amurath* may be longer in his Return to *Greece*, and chuse a Place far distant from the Seat of his Empire. 'Tis discoursed in this Court, as if the invincible *Sultan* carries along with him to this War, four hundred thousand Foot, an hundred and fifty thousand Horse, and two hundred *Bassa's*; and moreover, twelve Princes Tributary to the *Port*. 'Tis also said *Bagdet* is a Place not to be won by Force; that a River, the swiftest in the World, runs through the midst of it; and, that the Place has an hundred Gates of Brass, and its Walls, which are very high, be defended by three hundred Pieces of Cannon; that the *Persian* Forces are great enough to fire out the *Ottoman* Army, and that the Example of *Cha Abbas*, Father to the *Sophy* who now reigns over the *Persians*, will increase their Valour and Obstinacy, to suffer the greatest Extremities, rather than to think of a Surrender. The rash Resolution of this King *Abbas*, in the last Siege of this great City, is so cried up, and magnified here, that scarce is there any Room left for the Praises of *Amurath*. This Prince's passing and re-passing more than once, in a Bark, in the Sight of two hundred thousand *Turks*, to advertise, in Person, the Besieged of the Condition of Affairs, and to give them a fresh Courage, assuring them, they should be often succoured, and having at the same time about him wherewith to hinder him from falling alive or dead in-

to

to the Hands of his Enemies; was an Action which they think is above all *Elogiums*, and appears to them greater than Story could ever parallel. 'Tis said, that this King carried in his Bark two great Stones fasten'd to one and the same Cord, to put them on his Neck to sink himself into the River, which was of an unfathomable Depth, in case he was discovered. To which they add, that *Amurath*, who can never have his Fill of Blood, will recompence thy Services in the same manner he did thy Predecessor's.

These *Infidels* hold moreover other Discourses, which are very impertinent, confounding such Things as are true with false; as they do the Justice and Liberality of the generous and ever invincible *Sultan*, with the Cruelty and Avarice wherewith they reproach him. 'Tis said likewise, that the *Sequins* which he distributed the Day whereupon he was proclaimed Emperor, were not by one half, of the Value which was set upon them: That he caused *Mehemet, Bassa of Cairo*, to be strangled, for no other Reason, but to become Master of his Wealth. 'Tis farther added, that this Prince having had Advice that a Galley was taken, having seventy five considerable Officers belonging to the *Port* on board, whilst he was diverting himself in a Pleasure-House, at the Entrance into *Asia*, he said by way of Jest, *Let's drink the Health of these stout Blades*. 'Tis moreover said, That having given his Word, and promised a secure Passage to the brave *Faccardine*, an *Arabian* Prince, he caused him to be stabbed in a thousand Places in his Sight. But what do they say of his destroying the *Mufti*, and *Cyriel the Greek Patriarch*? In fine, they set forth *Amurath* as a sacrilegious Wretch, that despises his own Religion, an Heretick, and Enemy to our *Holy Prophet*. They relate the Particulars of *Cyriel's* Death, which makes me doubt there be Traytors at the *Port*, who advertise the *Infidels* of the most secret Matters which pass there. Some say, his *Eloquence* render'd him suspected to *Amurath*; and that he said these Words, when he was led to the Castle of seven Towers, *Could I speak but once to our great Empe-*

ror, he would be forced to love me, or repent. And 'tis said, that having voyaged into *England*, he had learned Magick there. Many People believ'd, he would introduce Novelties in Religion; and for this End, held strict Correspondence with the Latiniz'd *Monks*; and 'tis known here, that when his Sentence was pronounced, he said, *He would rise again to torment the Emperor, and perplex his Affairs.* The French having blamed what I now mention'd, do extremely praise the Moderation of *Amuratb*, when he took the *Persian* Spy, who slid into his Camp in *Turkish* Habit, and crowded amongst the true Faithful; for he caressed him, and sent him back with rich Presents. They also admire the Patience of this Prince, in only condemning to the Gallies the thirty *Indian* Pilgrims, who occasion'd his Fall from his Horse in the Capital City of his Kingdom; For the Horse was affrighted at the Apparel of those Men, and the strange Figure they made, when they threw themselves on the Ground to beg Money of him; but they at the same time charge this Emperor with Brutishness, for killing with his own Hand immediately the Horse that threw him down.

The Discourses of this Nature, however injurious they are, be not of great Importance. But, if I be not mistaken, there is something carrying on against us with the Republick of *Venice*. I observe its Ambassador, since the Loss we have had of fifteen Gallies at *Valentia*, has frequent and secret Conferences with the King, and Cardinal *de Richlieu*. As 'tis not doubted but that the *Ottoman* Empire will be reveng'd for so deep an Injury; so 'tis also judged, that the *Venetians* will use their utmost Endeavours to unite into a Confederacy the *Christian* Princes; and 'tis to be feared, lest they take the Time when the Emperor is employed in the Siege of *Babylon*, to form some Enterprize, or put themselves into a Condition wherein they cannot be attack'd. I shall carefully observe all the Motions of the *Venetian* Ambassador; and, if need requires, dispatch an express Messenger to the *Kaimachan*.

cham. I adore thy Grandeur, buried in the Dust of thy Feet.

Paris, 10th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER VII.

To the same.

THE Courier not parting till the Morrow, I make use of this short Time to write to thee again. *Brisac*, as I have already given Advice, was taken by the Forces of *France* and *Swedeland*; and the Duke of *Weymar*, who commands the Army, brags, that being become Master of this Place, which has always been besieged in vain, he shall take several others, there being none which henceforward can resist him.

The *Mareschal de Bannier*, one of the Generals of the *Swedish* Armies, wearied out the *Imperialists* in *Pomerania* with continual Alarms. He took *Gratz*, a considerable Place, and has beaten *Galas*, one of the Emperor of *Germany's* Generals: But Fortune having changed her Countenance, has favoured the Emperor against the Troops of the *Palatine*, who is taken Prisoner, with Prince *Rupert* his Brother, having been like to be drowned in the River of *Wexer*, whereinto he was drawn in his Coach by his Horses, who took Fright at the Noise of the Cannon: And these unfortunate Princes have lost on this Occasion, with their Liberty, whatever was most precious to them. The *Swedes* have, in the mean Time, increased their Strength, by the Conjunction of new Troops: They made frequent Incursions on the *Imperialists*; and 'tis thought this War will last a considerable Time, by the great Preparations which are made on all Hands, and especially by the *French*, to whom it seems important that it should not end speedily.

There is News from *Italy*, That a Discovery has been made in *Piemont*, of new Cabals of the Princes of the House of *Savoy*, who designed to put by the Duchess from her Regency, and make themselves Masters of the Government, during the Minority of the young Duke. There is a Cardinal of this Name, an ambitious Man, a great Lover of War, and given to Liberality. He would fain have a chief Share in the Government, and be Master of his Nephew's Fortune. This Cardinal lay conceal'd in the State of *Genoa*, being cloathed in an Habit little becoming his Character, and whence he sent his Orders for the Execution of whatever he had concerted with his Partizans; but the Conspiracy got Wind, and proved a bloody Tragedy to his Accomplices. 'Tis said, that this Prince having twice disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Peasant, had entered with a Bag of Fruit on his Back into one of the most considerable Towns in *Piemont*, to give by his Presence more Heat to his Party; and that, with a greater Boldness, he had entered into *Turin*, in the Habit of a *Capuchin*, with a long thick Beard, and abode there two Days; not with Design of ridding himself of the Prince, or his Mother, but to become Master both of the one and the other, to govern the State alone. But the Conspiracy having been discovered, and the Accomplices seized, Fourscore of them were put to Death by the common Hangman; and he escaped by a new Stratagem. A Secretary of State of *Savoy* is to be reckoned amongst this Number. Another Cardinal, who commands the Army of *France*, sent to the Assistance of the Duke and Duchess, had also put to Death the Governor of *Cazal*, accused of Treason, tho' he was not fully convinced of it.

'Tis written from *Rome*, that two Ambassadors from the King of *Hungary*, who is lately elected Emperor of *Germany*, had made a magnificent Entrance into that great City, clad after the *Hungarian* Manner with Vests, called here *a la Barbarefque*; that they had above an hundred Horfe, whose Harness were of Gold, and their Shoes of Silver; and 'twas especially

ally observed, that all the Foreign Ministers in that Court had sent their Retinue to accompany them in their Entrance, that it might appear more magnificent; and that these two Ambassadors of the new Emperor being arrived in the Presence of the *Infidels Musti*, whom they call the *Pope*, they told him, their Prince would continue to render him the Obedience which his Father *Ferdinand*, now deceased, paid him; and that he recommended to his *Holiness* his Person, his House, and his State, as a new Emperor, elected by the Suffrages of the Princes Electors of the Empire.

Observe, magnanimous *Vizir*, the Authority of this *Musti*: Those who are so audacious as to resist the *Mussulmen*, will yet abase themselves at his Feet, which they really kiss before they open their Mouths to speak to him. The greatest *Christians* Princes are wont to chuse from amongst the most considerable Persons of their State, the Ambassadors which they send with great Expence, to pay their Homage to this supreme Head of their Church. Moreover, these Ambassadors of the new *Cæsar* have assur'd the *Pope*, as from him, that he will never cease to make War with the Enemies of the *Christian* Faith; and 'tis said they received this Answer:

That, He ever respected the King of Hungary, the late elected Emperor, as his Son, to whom he would never be wanting in Counsel, and all other necessary Assurances; and exhorted him, to employ his victorious Arms against the Enemies of the Cross; and that, on his Side, he would employ the Succours of his Prayers, that the Church should open her Treasures, by granting Indulgencies; and that he would, beside this, give Supplies of Men and Money.

People, who are idle, amuse themselves with Discourses on future Events; and those that consult the Stars to penetrate into what is to come, have made a Marriage between the Dauphin of France, a Prince born some Months since, and the Infanta of Spain, lately come into the World. 'Tis true, that at the Moment this Princess saw the Light, the King of Spain

and the Grandees of the Kingdom, tried who should out-do one another in Feastings, to solemnize this Birth: And the like was done in *France*, for that of the *Dauphin*; both being accompanied with extraordinary Magnificence, and prodigious Liberalities.

The *Catholick* King has given the Quality of Grandee to the Duke of *Modena*, who was Godfather to the *Infanta*, and has declared him *Generalissimo* of the four Seas, with a Pension of twenty thousand Sequins of Gold. He has moreover, made magnificent Presents to the Dutchess his Wife, esteemed at an hundred thousand Crowns; and besides, made Knights of the Order of *St. James*, several Gentlemen of this Prince's Court.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* has also given several splendid Entertainments in his House and State, for the Marriage consummated with the Duke of *Saxony's* Son; and whilst I am writing, I am told there is a Son born to the King of *Hungary*, now Emperor of *Germany*. But whilst these Rejoicings are in several Parts of *Europe*, an unforeseen Tempest has ruined whole Countries in *Germany*. The Damage done thereby in *Franconia*, and near *Francfort*, is incredible; and it lack'd but little, but this same King of *Hungary*, now mention'd, being at the Hunting of a Boar, had been slain thro' a Whirlwind; which having pull'd up a great Oak by the Roots, of prodigious Greatness, it fell so near this Prince, that he receiv'd some slight Hurt by a Branch of it.

I pray *Heavens*, That all the Wisdom of our *holy Prophet*, and the Blessing of the *Great GOD* be always upon thee, and in thee, and ever augment thy Strength and good Fortune, to ruin those of the *Persian* Hereticks, whose Country I hope will be subjected by thy Sword to our dread Emperor.

Paris, 10th of the 4th Moon,

of the Year 1639.

LETTER

LETTER VIII.

*To Bedredin, Superior of the Dervises in
the Convent of Cogni in Natolia.*

THOU art happy in living *long* and *holily* too. I cannot chuse but reflect with Regret on thy great Age, considering how infirm I am. After fifteen Days Illness, my Strength quite fail'd me, so that necessitated I was to look out for a Physician; for I cannot easily commit my self to the Hands of those of this Country, who kill such as trust them, in the same manner as if they were their Enemies. When I discourse these Doctors about the State of my Health, they tell me I am in imminent Danger, and that my Cure is hazardous. In writing thus, think not I rave, for I speak the pure Truth. They will certainly kill me, should I discover to them under what Climate I was born; whereas if I tell them I am of *Moldavia*, they may chance to do me Good; though that Country Air is very different from that of *Arabia*, where I first drew my Breath. To how many Miseries is the Life of Man subject, especially mine, when I cannot speak the Truth, though it be to save my Life? Pray for me, holy *Dervise*; and if you hear no more from me, believe *Mahmut* is dead. Pardon likewise the Offences I have given thee, which yet have been against my Will. *Adieu*; We shall see one another in *GOD*, with *GOD*, and in the *Bosom* of *GOD*.

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER IX.

To Ourcoumiche, his Mother, at Scios.

Pardon me, my dear Mother, if I write last to thee : Pardon me, moreover, if I have not written to thee, to pay thee the Marks of my Duty, whilst I was in my Health ; and let me seek after thee, when, perhaps, in seeking for me, thou wilt no longer find me. I am ready to die : Afflict not thy self, if God calls me to him ; tho' I am amongst *Infidels*, yet Death holds his Empire here as in other Places. The worst News I can tell thee, is, That commonly those who desire to live longest, are soonest taken away ; and I am not ashamed to tell thee, I am one of that Number. I cannot willingly, as yet, leave this lower World. O unhappy Life ! O unwelcome Death ! What Apprehensions have I not ! And with what Terrors am I not struck, since I have lived among the *Christians* ! They preach against our *Alcoran*, and we declaim against their *Gospel* : They affirm, That *Mahomet* was a great Impostor : And we worship him. They believe they only know the Truth ; and that they be the only Saints, the Elect and Chosen of God. What then will become of us, if we be wedded to Errors, and our *Alcoran* be only a Parcel of Lies.

I have neither good nor bad News of thee, no more than of thy new Spouse : God grant the merry *Greek* thou art married to, have the Vices of thy First Husband, my Father. Thou knowest my Meaning. He called himself vicious, because he hated the Virtues of the Vulgar.

I thank thee not for my Life ; for that is what thou least thought'st of, when thou becamest big with me. But if thou expectest some Recompence for suckling me at thy own Breasts, expect only Words of Thanks from a poor Slave, who possesses nothing. *Love* and *Hate* all the Time of thy Life ; this is the greatest Inheritance

heritance thou canst expect from a Son who is just a dying. Engrave these Words in thy Heart, *Love ever what is honest, and hate always what is contrary to it.* Thus will these different Passions be settled on their proper Object.

If my Brother *Pesteli* be still alive, give him my Love with an innocent Kiss, and a Touch in the Hand. Our great *Prophet* protect and sustain thy Age with the Staff of Mount *Liban*, and obtain for thee from the Mercy of the *Most High*, that thou may'st enjoy thy Senses to the last Hour of thy Life. *Adieu.*

Paris, 12th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R X.

To *Pesteli Hali*, his Brother.

Believing my Life is near its End, I therefore, with all imaginable Eagerness, write to thee, in the *Third Place*, although indeed thou holdest the *First* in my Heart. We shall see one another, dear *Pesteli*, in that World, where every one receives according to his Deserts. When I arrived in this great Town, I was astonish'd at the Confusion I met there, but I received no other Hurt. Altho' the Weather be very inconstant, yet the Air is good, and Provisions wholesome, and agreeable to the Taste; the Water of the *Seine* is sweet and clear; the Men are good Company, and the Women have done me no Harm; the King has not ill used me: Cardinal *Richlieu*, his chief Minister, does not hinder me from living after my own Fashion. Our great Emperor is not displeased with me, yet my Distemper is impetuous: A sad Faintness has seized my Heart, and I begin to fall into such a languishing Condition, as makes me despair of Health. If thou still conservest any Affection for me, read this Letter with Compassion. Forget the ill Offices I may have done thee;

thee ; and if I parted without discovering to thee the Occasion, give God Thanks for the Ability he has given me, of sacrificing the Tenderness which I have for so good a Brother, to the Obedience which I owe to the Emperor's Commands.

Our Mother will salute thee as from me, in giving thee a Kiss ; receive it as coming from me. Keep thy Gravity, and be honest in *Asia*, as well as *Europe* ; and if thou goest to *Africa*, suffer not thy self to be corrupted by ill Examples. 'Tis not without Tears I write thee this Letter : But lament not if I die, neither rejoice if I escape ; for I shall be thereby no less mortal ; and the Tribute which I do not pay to-day, we both shall pay, with all other Men, on a certain Time. Prepare to part willingly ; study more how thou shalt *die*, than how thou shalt *live* ; and if thou would'st live till thou art *old*, live as if thou wert to die when thou art *young*.

The *Great God* preserve thee in the perfect Use of thy Understanding, and guide thee into all Truth ; and if thou desirest to be the best Captain and Commander in the World, learn to conquer thy self. *Adieu*.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER XI.

To Dgnct Oglou.

SHould I tell thee I am in Health, I shall write an Untruth ; for I am really out of Order, and expect a Fit of Sicknes, which I wish 'twere in my Power to avoid, though it may prove short and mortal. An Hectick Fever puts me oft in mind, how frail and brittle a Thing is Man ; and that he ought in Multiplicity of Business, in Times of Prosperity, as well as Adversity, to think of dislodging hence. The Bread I eat has no Relish ; Solitude appears dismal to me,
and

and Company wearies me; for I cannot attend to what's discoursed, and yet I do not like they should say nothing; there's nothing pleases me but Drink, yet all the Sea will not quench my Thirst. I am restless in Bed, and find my self more tired thereby, than if I set up; and that which I loved yesterday, I hate to-day. Thou knowest how I loved Books; this Humour is quite changed. If the Sun shines into my Chamber, I as soon shut my Windows, being not able to endure it; and having remained a Minute in Obscurity, I am impatient for the Light. *Paris*, where one may say Strangers come from all Parts, to see the Varieties and Diversions there are to be met with, appears to me now an Hospital of Fools: I long for nothing more than *Constantinople*, and to be with my Friends, imagining I shall find Ease in their Company. And this is the unhappy Condition of thy Friend, without any Hope of seeing any more *Turbants* and *Mussulmen*. I loath as much the Sight of an ignorant Physician, as the Emperor *Severus* did a corrupt Judge: And I look on a little Valet that serves me, as a necessary Evil. Yet I would a little divert thee, maugre the Illness which has seized me. 'Tis not above six Months since I entertain'd this Enemy in my House, which is a *French* Valet, who makes himself a Fool; of a Pigmy's Stature, yet a Giant in Roguery; he is clad like the Graces, being half naked; and wears Buskins like the poetical Divinities; his ordinary Function is to sweep every Day my Chamber, which yet is as nasty as *Augeas's* Stable: When I am awake he is asleep, and he is always awake when I am asleep. For this thirteen Years that he has seen the Light, he cannot remember he has been two Hours without eating; when he eats not openly and before Folks, lest he should shame me, he will yet be sure to keep his Chap a going on something in Corners. When I went a broad, I was forced to follow him; and now that I keep my Bed, 'tis hard to judge which of us two is the Master, for he never parts with his Hat from his Head. He's more ready to pull off my Cloaths, than to put them

them on ; which makes me chiefly careful of him at such Times, that he leaves me not stark naked. He's moreover, a Politician as much as any *Florentine* ; when he's to do any good Office, he falls into the *Spanish* Pace ; but to a perfect bad one, he's as nimble as *Cæsar* was in the quickest of his Expeditions ; whence it is that I am a Debtor to my own Arm and Hand, for the Service I draw from him, being like certain Drugs which never yield an Odour till well beaten. As to his *Religion*, a Man would imagine he held the *Metempsychosis*, so carefully does he preserve the Lice that eat him, least in killing them, he act contrary to the Precepts of *Pythagoras*. He is moreover besides an irreconcilable Enemy to all Neatness, to Water and to Truth ; and he is more stinking than a Synagogue, drunker than a *Swiss*, and a greater Liar than any Oracle. In the mean time, my Illness increases, and my domestick Enemy is so well, that he assuredly waits my Death, to live more honourably on my Spoils. I differ much this Day from what I was yesterday, and I know not whether I shall not tomorrow go to my *long Home*. Pray the *Immortal* for me, and remember we were once in Slavery together. Should I escape, I shall have the Joy of never seeing thee in the sad Condition I am ; and if I cannot escape Death at this Time, I shall have the Satisfaction of suffering it before thee. However, believe I do not despair, tho' I much complain. I cease writing to thee, but I'll never cease loving thee. *Mahmut* embraces thee in this Country of *Infidels*, having thee always in his Heart, and praying for thee continually.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER XII.

To the Kaimacham.

THE King of *France* has a Dwarf called *Osmin*, born in a Village of the *Morea*, and carried away in

in his Infancy into *Italy* by Pirates. He was bought by a *Spanish* Lord, who afterwards made a Present of him to this King, with such a *bonne Grace*, as entitles Magnificence to the smallest Things, after the manner of that Nation. The *Spaniard* having presented his Dwarf, said no more, the Dwarf making this following Discourse.

Sir, I am a Christian, altho' my Parents be Turks. If thou willingly receivest me for thy Slave, I receive thee yet more willingly for my Master, being a just and merciful Prince: But I am obliged to tell thee, if thou wilt behave thyself like a Master, whose Liberality is guided by Prudence, thou wilt never do me any Hurt, or ever do me any great Good. Shouldest thou give me Opportunities of acquiring Riches, and throw open the Gate of Honours to me, I shall thereby, perhaps, grow vicious and insolent. Bestow only one Thing on me, which will not be afterwards in thy Power to take away: Give me good Education, and let a Man of Learning take the Charge of me; by which Means I shall be revenged of Nature, in making me but an Atom of a Man; and perhaps, make thy Courtiers one Day repent of their present Laughter.

Osmin has behaved himself so well, and gained such Credit by the Subtilty of his Wit, and Readiness of his Answers, that he is, at present, one of the Court's choicest Entertainments, and the Scourge of all debauched People. Coming one Day to divert and comfort me in my Illness, he told me, that being in private Discourse with one of the Women belonging to a Lady of the first Rank, he was forced to conceal himself speedily behind the Hangings, to prevent being surprized in the Chamber, where this Lady unexpectedly entered with the *Venetian* Ambassador, who ordinarily resides in this Court, and where he heard the following Discourse from this Minister's own Mouth.

Madam, I shall willingly discover to you, now that we are alone, the Intentions of the Republick I serve, touching the Turkish Affairs, provided you promise me to do me two different good Turns. 'Tis absolutely necessary we make War with these Barbarians, before they declare it against

against us. *The Ottoman Family is like the Mathematical Compass, which enlarges itself the more it is pressed. You are not to be informed of the famous Victory gained by our General Capello, who has led in Triumph all the Gallies of Africk ; but tho' Amurath be employ'd on the Frontiers of Persia, in the Siege of a most important Place, yet does he already threaten to be revenged for the Defeat of these Barbarians. The Ministers of the Port do also press him to shew his Resentment ; and we certainly knew by secret Relations from the Turkish Camp, lying before Babylon, that the Grand Signior has said in full Council, that he will himself throw the first Fire-ball into our Arsenal. That, Madam, which lies in your Power, is, to persuade the King to engage in the common Cause ; and for this End make up a Peace with his Enemies, that he may join his naval Forces with ours. On the other Hand, we could wish you would offer the contrary to Cardinal Richlieu ; because this Minister usually slighting Womens Counsels, will come to our Purpose through his obstinate Humour of contradicting you : And I do not doubt but this Artifice will succeed, if thou persuade him, the King is resolved not to give us any Assistance. There runs a Report, as if our Bailio has been laid hold on at Constantinople, and retained Prisoner in the Castle of Seven Towers, by the Order of the Kaimacham. And 'tis added, that the Grand Signior offers a Peace, to the Persians, to return speedily into Europe ; that having no Diversion on that Side, he may turn all his Forces against the Republick.*

The Pope promises much, and we need not fear but he will keep his Word, being the Person most interested in our Affairs. He will furnish Money, join his Gallies to those of the Republick ; and moreover send us several stout Men. The King of Spain promises us forty Gallies, with all Necessaries, together with fifty Vessels of War. The Great Duke of Tuscany will assist us with eight Vessels well set out, and six Gallies well arm'd. The King of Poland promises to send into the Infidels Country, an Army of fifty thousand Cossacks ; and others shall cruize about the Levantine Seas with their Brigantines, and especially
the

the Archipelago. As to what respects the Republick, the chief Families in Venice have already proffered to set out and entertain at their own Charge, a Vessel, till the War be ended; and all the great Castles and Towns on the firm Land, freely offer to furnish the Republick with fifty thousand Ducats a Month. This Kingdom which is so full of Men, amongst which there are so many good Officers, (which are rich in Money, and at present so considerable at Sea) must not only not trouble so noble and necessary a Project, in continuing a War with Spain; but also give its Assistance, by Supplies of Men, Money, and Vessels. If you can, Madam, oblige the King to enter into this League, you will merit an everlasting Remembrance, and have an hundred thousand Crowns, which lie ready for you at Venice, to be paid when and where you please.

This is God's Cause, the Occasion is favourable, and all Things seem in a Readiness. You may immortalize your Name, and with your Beauty, your Credit and Eloquence, give good Grounds of Hope to Christendom of Success, by obtaining the Assistance of the most puissant of the Christian Monarchs.

This is what the Dwarf heard, and what he entrusted me with since: Were I in a Condition, illustrious *Kaimacham*, to relate particularly the Life of *Osmin*, I am persuaded thou wouldst give entire Credit to the Discourse he made me.

Osmin is born a Turk, he loves me dearly, and has a certain Sympathy with me; which obliges him to seek me often, and entrust me with all the Adventures of his Life, treating me not only as a Friend, but living with me as if I were his Brother.

There being some Days since, I languished in Bed, tormented with a Distemper, which at its Beginning threatned me with vexatious Consequences, and which causes me to droop and languish, thou wilt pardon me, if I reason not much on an Adventure so extraordinary. Should God restore me to my Health, I shall double my Care and Diligence, in observing the Measures of this Court. Order by thy Prudence and Valour, that the Preparations of these *Infidels* against the formi-

formidable Monarchy of the *true Believers*, may vanish into Smoak : And, the *Great Sovereign* of the lower and upper World grant thee perfect Health ; which is sought in vain by his Highness's Slave, and thy Servant, *Mabmut*.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R XIII.

To Isouf, his Kinsman.

Notwithstanding my Weakness, I force my self to write thee this Letter, to thee with whom I am engaged by Interest as well as by Blood. My Distemper lies so heavy upon me, that there remains only the Time to speak two Words of Devotion to thee. *Isouf*, thou oughtest towards the End of the *Moon* in *May*, to go to *Mecha* ; carry me along with thee, tho' I am at this Distance. I entreat thee, when thou shalt arrive with the *Caravan* of *Pilgrims* at the Mount of *Ararat*, to offer there a Sacrifice in my Name ; immolate a Sheep in Commemoration of *Abraham* ; and if thou arrivest in Health at the *Holy Mosque*, and in full Strength, offer devoutly my Prayers to our *Great Prophet*. I ask not Honours of *Mahomet* no more than Riches : I only beg that Heaven would restore me what I have lost ; 'tis Health I desire, whereby I may serve our Great Emperor, and live more holy than I have done. But before thy Departure, distribute a good Dole to the Poor ; and if thou wantest Money, go and find *Dgnet Oglou*, borrow of him in my Name, seven hundred and fifty *Aspers*, which thou shalt immediately deal out to those that have most need.

Thou knowest how greatly the Works of Charity are recommended to us : They multiply the Benedictions of Heaven, and increase our Wealth. I neither do, nor can do this in the *Infidels* Country ; thou knowest my

my Inability, speedily succour me in the Necessity I am of doing good, and let nothing hinder thee, no Argument of good Husbandry nor Superstition. If thou neglect my Prayer, the Shame of the Fault will lie at thy Door; and thou alone shall bear the Iniquity, if thou executest not the Will of a dying Man, especially having the Power. I forgot what I had of greatest Importance to tell thee, and which is the most holy, and aimed at to obtain with the greatest Earnestness: Endeavour to get for me a little Piece of the Cloth wherewith the Temple of *Mecha* is every Year hung, and which the *Pilgrims* tear in Pieces to have each of them a Part; and send, as soon as thou canst this holy Relick, in a little Silver Box, to *Carcôa* at *Vienna*, who will take Care I receive it. If thou beest a good *Mussulman*, give speedy Help to a Disciple of the same *Law*; and if thou beest a real Kinsman, assist me, love me, and take on thee my Defence when necessary. I embrace thee with all my Heart and Strength; and though I believe my self very near Death, yet I wish thee a long and happy Life.

Paris, 12th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

L E T T E R X I V .

To the invincible Vizir Azem, at Constantinople.

IF thou beest the same that commanded the Army of the true Believers before *Babylon*, I write to thee without congratulating thy Resurrection. The People at *Paris* have killed thee by their Discourses, because they wish'd thy Death, and 'tis generally said thou wast strangled by four *Mutes*. But if I write to another, raised to the chief Dignity of the Empire, I pray the Great God, who will one Day judge all Men, that he will

will long continue thee in *Amurath's* Service, ever happy, and always attended with Victory ; and give thee better Fortune than all the other *Vizirs*, who have governed in the vast Empire of the *Mussulmen*.

I have been sick during the Space of eighteen *Moons*, and my Health is not yet fully restored : I have lived all that Time in continual Expectation of Death, and so many odd Things have happened in my Sickneſs, that I ſhould fall into it again, ſhouldſt thou oblige me to make the Recital of them.

The Charity of the *Chriſtian Derviſes* has been very great towards me, having neglected nothing which might be any ways ſerviceable to my happy Departure. The graveſt of them have often attended me with Diſcourſes of the Immortality of the Soul, of Hell, their Purgatory, Paradife, and the Merits and Indulgencies of the Church. Several Phyſicians have come to ſee me, and uſed their utmoſt Skill to keep me alive, and imagine I owe my Life to them ; but if it be ſo, they have paid themſelves for their Care, by drawing ſo much Blood out of me, having, I think, quite emptied my Veins, to reſiſt, ſaid they, the ſeveral Diſtempers which aſſaulted me, and to take from me the *Turkiſh* Fever, which I nourished ; for I aſſuredly brought it from *Conſtantinople*.

The greateſt Sin I committed during the Courſe of ſo long a Sickneſs, was the pretending to confeſs myſelf to a *Captain Derviſe*, as the *Chriſtians* do in the principal Feaſts, and when they are ready to die. I uſed this Ceremony but once, and I do not think I have committed Sacrilege, for have I told no Truth ; and if I may ſpeak freely to thee, invincible *Vizir*, hear what a pleaſant Penance was enjoined me for an imaginary Crime of which I accuſed my ſelf. I confeſſed, I hinder'd, by an Apology I had made, a *Mahometan* from embracing the *Law of Jeſus* ; and the *Derviſ* ſaid to me in a Paſſion, *You are not then a Catholick ? I am*, answered I, and only diſſuaded this *Barbarian* on Account I had obſerved it ſeldom happened, that a *Turk* who changed his *Law*, came to a good End ; and that thoſe who ceaſed to be *Muſſulmen*,

Mussulmen, seldom prove any other but bad Christians. Your Reasoning is also as false, replied sharply the Monk, as the Design you have had is bad; for you never ought to hinder any thing which is good, for the Fear you may have, that in the End it may cease to be so. And I enjoin you for Penance, to scrape out with such Exactness, all the Characters of your Apology, that there remain no Mark of it, so that the Paper become as clean and fair, as if there had been nothing written on it, that so black and detestable a Discourse be entirely defac'd, by the Pains you shall take to hinder the remaining of any Trace or Mark: After which, you shall pray to God, as long as you live, that he would destroy the Temple at Mecha, so famous by the Impieties committed there, and enlighten the Eyes of the blind Mahometans. But I am constrained to stop here, being so feeble and indisposed, that I have not the Strength to write that I am now recovering.

The Mars which has made Germany tremble, I mean the Duke of Weymar, is, in fine, dead, at thirty-six Years of Age, and buried in the same Field, wherein he gathered his last Laurels, that is to say, at Brisac. I shall distinctly inform the Kaimeckam of whatever has happened during my Sickness, that I may not give thee the Trouble to read the Relation of several Adventures, which have been already publish'd in the World, whilst thou art employ'd in the great Affairs of the Empire. As soon as I am able, I shall, if possible, do with greater Diligence the Offices of my Place, and henceforward punctually advertise thee of the Cabals, Intrigues and Designs of the Nazarenes, that thou may'st not be unprovided against all the Attempts of the Infidels.

I intreat the Being of Beings to accompany thy Life with all the Happiness thou canst desire on Earth, and that thou may'st never undertake any Thing for the Good of the Empire, and its Religion, without Success.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1639.

LETTER

LETTER XV.

To the Kaimacham:

THOU wert but little mistaken, when thou thoughtest I was dead. I have been so near the Grave, that I may have received four of thy Letters, without being able to read them; so far was I from the Power of answering them. I have been sick a whole Year and six Months out of the Commerce of the Living, and without receiving any Consolation from any one; abandon'd to Physick, and become the Prey of the Physicians, and in short, out of hope of ever recovering; but the Day wherein I am to be judged is not yet come: I am, in fine, still alive, and shall soon, I hope, be well again, if thou, to overwhelm me, chargest not my long Malady as a Crime upon me, and suspectest me not guilty of Infidelity.

I have informed my self, within these few Days, of several Events which have happened during the Course of several *Moons*, which I shall relate to thee, if I can, in this Letter, to make amends for the Time I have lost: But in so few Words, as will occasion thee to think I am still sick; for which thou must not blame me, seeing thou lovest Brevity.

France, during the Time I have not writ to thee, has given me Marks of its Power and Policy. Four Places have been besieged in the Year 1639, whose Success have not been equal. The *French* have met with Disadvantage before *Thionville*, by the Valour and Conduct of *Picolomini*, one of the Emperor's *Generals*, who was born in *Italy*, and brought up from a Child in the Trade of Arms. 'Tis said, he has attack'd and vanquish'd his Master's Enemies with such Speed, that one may compare his Action with that of *Claudius Nero*, when he defeated *Asdrubal*, who had entered *Italy*: He has broken the Enemies Army, routed the Horse, took the Cannon, kill'd the *French* General,
and

and immediately raised the Siege; but in Revenge, the same *French* who were beaten before *Thionville*, have made themselves Masters of *Heden*, *Saiens*, and *Salse*, which last was taken by the young Prince of *Conde*, who gives the Marks of an extraordinary Valour; but the *Spaniards* have re-taken these Places, which have cost them dear. 'Tis said that the Governor left by the Prince of *Conde* there, being pressed by the *Spaniards* to surrender the Place, threw out to them an hot white Loaf, saying, *That those who eat of this Bread, would not surrender themselves, before the Enemies come to the Time wherein they might eat Ice.*

Yet the Place was surrender'd before the Spring-Time was come to change the Face of the Earth; so far were they from holding out till it was cover'd with Ice.

This King immediately appeased the Insurrections which were made in *Normandy*. But what wilt thou say to *Casimir*, the King of *Poland's* Brother, who being return'd a second Time into *France* alone and disguised, was discover'd and carried Prisoner to the Castle in the Wood of *Vinciennes*, near *Paris*, where he is carefully guarded.

The War has been very cruel in *Italy*, between the three Parties, who are extreamly animated against one another. Prince *Thomas* of the House of *Savoy*, drove out by Surprize the *French* from *Turin*; but thou wilt soon understand that our Capital Enemies, the *Spaniards*, have been beaten and entirely defeated under *Caxal*, by the Count *Harcourt*, of the House of *Lorrain*.

The *Spaniards* and *Dutch* have made a great Noise in the Ocean with their Fleets; the former came with fourscore Vessels of War, to land fifteen thousand Men in *Flanders*; but having been met by *Van Trump*, a Commander of great Courage and Experience, there was a Bloody Battle fought, with lasted long, but at length ended in the Defeat of the *Spaniards*.

The *Dutch* have taken thirteen Ships, and above twenty of them have been driven by the Weather on

the Coasts of *England*, where they are lost, and eight others have had the good Fortune to get into *Dunkirk*.

The Victory of the *Dutch* is compleat, having lost but one Ship in the whole Engagement, against so puissant an Enemy, and whose Subjects they were formerly.

Bear with me, Illustrious and Happy *Kaimacham*, wanting Strength to continue on Writing, though it were the Victories of *Amurath* which I were to relate.

I shall make known to thee, on the first Opportunity, whatever shall come to my Knowledge. In the mean time, the Creator of all Things direct thee in all thy Ways, and prosper all thy Undertakings.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1640.

LETTER XVI.

To Dgnet Oglou.

I Am in a Manner raised from the Dead by reading thy Letter; there is not a Line or Syllable, but shews the Marks of a true Heart, and a tender and real Sympathy with my Condition: I pray Heaven, we may do nothing, either of us, to lessen this Affection.

Thou informest me in thy Letter of the Departure of *Isaef* for *Mecha*: I give thee a thousand Thanks for the Money thou hast given him, for the offering a Sacrifice in my Name on the *Sacred Mountain*, and to distribute here below the Alms which I enjoined him. I admire thy Bounty, and the charitable Care thou hast had of the Salvation of thy Friend *Mahmut*, in sending one of our Devotees to *Medina*, to go the Pilgrimage and say Prayers for me. In a Word, I see thy Kindness makes thee foresee and provide against all my Wants. There is no Place or Time where I receive not the Marks of thy Favour.

Seeing I am so dear to thee, and loving thee so greatly as I do, let not Distance of Place, Poverty, Disgrace,
Im-

Imprisonment, or any other Misfortune, extinguish, or so much as damp, our mutual Affection.

I have in a manner, stole the Time I write to thee. For I have nothing which is truly mine, and I make thee a Present of a Thing which I owed the *Kaimacham*, for whom I ought to employ more Time in writing. But let us lay aside all these troublesome Affairs, and entertain one another with an entire Confidence and Familiarity. Thou wantest not Wit, employ it in the Study of History, after the sufficient Instructions in the Matters which concern Religion. If thou wilt be a Prince among other Men, separate thy self from the Crowd, by the Application to good Authors; read much, yet read little; read ever good Books, there being few of them, and thus thou wilt read much. If thou canst attain to the Knowledge of whatsoever is known of Men, thou wilt be a Kind of *God* amongst them; whereas thou wilt be of the Number of *Beasts* if thou failest of acquiring the Notices thou oughtest to have. I wish thou wouldst mind more for thy Friend's sake, what passes in the *Seraglio*, in the *Divan*, and in the Prince's most secret Councils, to know what is said there against me, and for me: Good and seasonable Advice does oftentimes hinder much Mischief, and does a great deal of Good. Friendship makes those Things which are otherwise hard, very easy: 'He that is not ready (says an holy Man amongst the *Christians*) to suffer all Things, and to lose all, and his very Will too, for the sake of him that he loves, deserves not the Name of a Friend.

Let us ever forget the Words *Mine* and *Thine*: Thy good Fortune is mine, even as thy Disgraces are; if we thus establish our Friendship, why may we not, though modern *Turks*, compare our selves to those ancient *Greeks*, who have given such glorious Marks to the World of their Friendship? Why may we not be the Imitators of *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, who contracted so strict an Union, that nothing could change it? Altho' we were not born the same Day, in the same Climate, and in the same Town, as *Polystratus* and *Hy-*

poelides, who were born in the same House, at the same Hour, and lived always together, and fell sick at the same Time, and lov'd equally ; yet let us surpass them in Affection. Love we one another more than *Theseus* and *Pirithous* ; more than *Damon* and *Pitbias* ; the former of which contracted in Arms, and the other in Studies, that strict Amity that has rendered them so remarkable to Posterity. If thou knowest any Secret whereby to restore my Appetite, which I have lost, send it me. I am here Spectator of a Million of Mouths, who eat four times a Day, and consume 15000 Oxen every Week, and 15000 other Pieces of Animals, besides Mutton, Veal, Hogs ; not to reckon all Sorts of Fowls, and Fruits produced by the Earth, and the Fishes from the Seas and Rivers.

I am forced to die with Hunger with my Meat in my Hands ; and in a Town where there is an Abundance of all sorts of Things, I want all Things. Bread, which is so pleasant to the Eye, and so savoury to the Taste of all other People, is nauseated by me. Wine only, because 'tis forbidden by our Law, rejoices the Sight of me, and stirs up a Desire of Drinking. Let me hear oft from thee ; let thy Letters be instructive, and be levelled against my melancholy Temper. The God of *Mahomet* keep thee ever in Health, and make thee love me, as thou dost, continually.

Paris, 15th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1640.

L E T T E R X V I I .

To Adonai the Jew, at Genoa.

THOU art as lazy in Writing, as inconsiderable in thy Judgment of Things. Thou hast written to the *Grand Vizir*, that this *Republick* is disposed to join its Forces to that of *Venice*, for its Assistance in the War against the *Port* ; but what Ground hast thou for this Advice ? And if the *Grand Vizir* should oblige thee

thee to give a Reason for this, how canst thou satisfy his Curiosity, and hinder him from accusing thee of great Lighness.

I now received a Copy of the Letter thou didest write to *Constantinople*, for which I thank thee. 'Twould have been better I had received the Original; for I would not have sent it. There's no likelihood that a *Republick*, so desirous of establishing Peace in her Dominions, will disturb her own Quiet for the Service of a State, with which she is always at War.

Had the *Genoeses* any Cause of Complaint against *Amurath*, they would want neither Soldiers, nor Arms, nor Vessels, nor Money, to raise Enemies against him. But at present, whilst their Affairs are in a full Calm, both Abroad and at Home, they make (with greater Prudence than the *Venetians*) War in the *Spanish Indies* with their Registers, and Arithmetick; and they have always the Advantage in this Kind of Combat, wherein there is no Example they ever lost. Let this Nation alone in Peace: Write rather to the *Port*, that the *Genoeses*, condemned by Nature to dwell in the Rocks and desert Mountains, have found the Means of making these the most delicious Abodes in *Europe*.

Tell the *Grand Vizir*, that so many extravagant Philosophers, who continually search for what they will never find, have at length shewed, that there is no other Place where are more perfect Chymists to be found, having converted into Gold almost all the Stones in the Country, chang'd the Horror of their Desarts into most pleasant Gardens; and the Cottages of the ancient *Ligurians* are transformed into Palaces, enriched with Marble and Porphyry, with so great Manificence and Propriety, that no Houses are comparable to theirs. To which thou may'st add, that the Inheritance of the poorest *Genoeses*, does at this time much surpass those of their Predecessors. Shew him they have begun to give considerable Succours to great and puissant Monarchs, by immense Sums; and that, in fine, in the Registers of particular Traders, one may see the Names of the greatest Monarchs on Earth, to whom they are become Creditors.

Be more careful of what thou writest for the future ; and when thou givest Advice, set down what thou knowest without Exaggeratings, and be reserved in what's doubtful: Never write Falshoods in thy Dispatches. Be also never the Author of vulgar Rumours, and Stories made by People at Leisure, who abound with Extravagancies. God help thy Understanding, and heal thy Distempers, if thou hast any.

Paris, 10th of the 11th Moon,
of the Year 1640.

L E T T E R X V I I I .

To the Kaimacham.

THE *Christians* are become Magicians; or, to speak better, the *Spaniards* who make War in *Pimont*, have fill'd the World with Astonishment by an extraordinary and new Incantment. I wrote to thee, there were two great Armies before *Turin*, one to take it, and the other to secure it; but I have not yet made known to thee, that the Cannon of the *Spaniards* are become Couriers, who carry their Dispatches in the Air into the besieged Cities; and moreover Ammunition, Powder, Salt-Petre, and Money; a marvellous Invention, which fills me with Admiration in writing it. There is a Man in the Camp of General *Leganez*, who makes Brass Bullets so artificially, that having shot them into the Ditch of the Place, they have for a long Time succoured the Besieged. 'Tis said, that being made in a Vice, and hollowed within, they have served for two Uses, and convey into *Turin* what was wanting, and to bring back into the *Spaniards* Camp the Things they most needed. But this Industry proved in the End useles; and after several Conflicts, *Turin* has fallen again into the Hands of King *Lewis*, who has therein re-established the Duchess of *Savoy*, to the great Satisfaction
of

of her People, who have thereupon shewed the Signs of the greatest Joy. This Re-establishment is owing to the Valour and Conduct of Count *Harcourt*, who has sustained and repelled the Assaults of two Armies stronger in Number than his own. This Captain has made his Name as famous in *Italy*, as were heretofore those of the *Heroes* of *Rome* and *Athens*. The Marquis of *Léganés* undertook the Siege of *Casal*, an Important Place belonging to the Duke of *Mantua*, situated on the famous River of *Po* in *Italy*. Count *Harcourt* not being able with all his Army to put Succours into the Place, he took the Party of forcing himself the Besieged, entring on Horseback into the Lines with his Sword in his Hand, where he was followed by some of his Gentlemen. The *Spaniards* being surprized and astonished, found no safety but in Retreat, which they made disorderly; and the, *French* under such a Captain, bore away that Day, the greatest and most glorious Victory they ever won in *Italy*.

If thou requirest an Account of me of what has pass'd in *Germany*, I can tell thee, that the War has been carried there this Year with equal Success and Losses to both Parties, to whom Fortune has been sometimes favourable, and other whiles contrary.

But I am inform'd there's a Design of making a great Assembly at *Cologne*, to re-establish a Peace between all the *Christian* Princes; and that the King of *France* has nam'd for his *Plenipotentiary* there, the Cardinal *Julius Mazarini*, an *Italian* by Nation, a Man of great Parts and Experience in Business.

Prince *Casimir* is set at Liberty, at the Entreaty of the King of *Poland*, his Brother, and has been since well received by the King, who made him dine at his Table, and present him with a rich Diamond. The Town of *Arras* which the *French* have taken in the *Spanish Netherlands*, is of great Importance, and is a considerable Loss to the *Catholic King*, and will give great Reputation to his Enemies, that have taken the Place in the Sight of a great Army, commanded by the Cardinal *Infant*, Governor of the *Low-Countries*;

which Conquest has mightily raised the *French* Courage, and increased the Glory of their Prince.

The Queen is brought to Bed of a second Son, who was born the 21st of *September*, and he is named the Duke of *Anjou*.

The *Spaniards* are as unfortunate on the Sea, as at Land. Their Fleet, which returned from the *West-Indies*, richly laden with Commodities of all Sorts, have been most of them dispersed by the *French* Naval Army, commanded by the Duke of *Breeze*. The *Spaniards* truly fought with much Valour, but fifteen Thousand of their Men were slain, and two Hundred taken Prisoners, together with five great Vessels richly laden. One of the great Galleons was burnt; and 'tis said the other Ships were saved, having first thrown the best Part of their Lading over-board, which they had brought with such great Care and Pains from the *other World*.

That which has pass'd on the Ocean, has not hinder'd the Archbishop of *Bordeaux* from shewing the Strength of the King his Master on the *Mediterranean*; where he has sought an Occasion of fighting the *Spaniards* with a lighter Army consisting for the most part of Gallies. He had sent a Defiance to the Duke of *Farrandine*, General of the *Spanish* Gallies; who being unwilling to accept of the Challenge, this Prelate advanced towards the Coast of *Naples*, where he did some Mischief.

One may say, that the Misfortunes of *Philip*, King of *Spain*, are as great this Year as his Power is. But it is said, these Losses are not comparable to what he is threaten'd with, if *Portugal* and *Catalonia* shake off the Yoke of his Domination, as the common Report runs.

I have heard much Talk in general on those considerable Affairs, without being however informed of any certain Particulars. But henceforward, when I shall be able to leave my Chamber, to go into the Churches, Walks and Gardens, about the City and the Court, I shall let nothing pass without a strict Enquiry, and give a faithful Account of whatever deserves thy Notice,
and

and should'st thou desire any particular Thing of thy Slave *Mahmut*, 'tis but mentioning it, and thou shalt not want an exact and humble Answer.

It makes me tremble in telling thee, that a Report runs here of the Death of the invincible Prop of the World, the Mighty of Mighties ; in fine, of the Glorious *Amurath*, 'Tis false News, I hope, yet however asserted with great Confidence. The Arbiter of Heaven and Earth confound all Enemies, and give the *Grand Signior*, and thy self, a Life which knows no End, and attended with Happiness which cannot be increased.

Paris, 7th of the last Moon,
of the Year 1640.

L E T T E R X I X .

To Dgnct Oglou.

THE lovely *Greek*, after whom thou enquirest so earnestly, is long since retired into *France*, and has been married Eighty *Moons* to a great *French* Merchant, with whom I am not well acquainted, but am informed is very rich, and fortunate in his Dealings ; but infinitely more fortunate in being the Husband of *Daria Lena Maani*, by whom he has several fine Children.

This charming *Greek* does now profess the *Roman* Religion, which is the only Fault I find in her. I never knew Woman, whose whole Carriage is so graceful, who does all Things with such a careless Exactness, and whose Virtue is less morose. Mere Chance brought me acquainted with her ; whom I no sooner saw, but I was struck with Admiration. She came to *Paris* the last Year to solicit a Law-Suit against a Stranger about an Estate. It was at *Court*, and in the Presence of the King himself, that I first saw *Daria* : She spake to him so sweetly, that she soon obtained what she desired ; and at the same Instant, I felt such an inexpressi-

ble Passions and Longings after her Acquaintance —— Suffer me, my dear *Dgnet*, to tell thee, that never any Creature made such deep Impressions in the Heart of a Man, as this charming *Greek* did in mine.

I drew near to her as soon as I could ; I spake to her in her own Language, telling her I was an *Arabian* ; and she answer'd me with as great Modesty as Benignity. I went the Day following to give her a Visit in her own Lodgings ; where this adorable Person received me with the greatest Civility, not forbidding me a Return ; being pleas'd, perhaps, to meet with one that could speak her own Language, which is very rare in these Parts.

Since then I could not for my Life forget her : I have served her with the greatest Diligence, and so doated on her, that I forgot my self and thee, and if I may dare to say so, the *Grand Signior* too. Pardon this Infidelity on the Account of a Passion which knows no Moderation, being not able to withstand the Force of so invincible an Enemy.

Daria is young, of generous Temper, and in whose whole Deportment there is no Grace wanting. Her Virtue is far above *Lucretia's* ; for this *Roman* Lady killed herself, having first endured the Violences of a Tyrant ; whereas she would die before she would come to such a Tryal. If you have seen her at *Constantinople*, you must have known her Perfections : I, for my part, who only knew her at *Paris*, have remark'd four Beauties in her Person, which I believe are not to be found in any of those Ladies kept in the *Seraglio*. Her Eyes, her Mouth, her Teeth, and her Hands, seem to have been made only to furnish the *God of Love* with Darts. She is sure to strike where she will with her fine back Eyes full of Fire ; and she has also the Secret of healing the Wound she makes, when she pleases. As soon as ever she opens her Mouth, the three *Graces* are seen to sit sporting in her Countenance ; and her Body moreover is so proportion'd in all its Parts, that had she lived in the Time of *Phidias*, he had certainly taken her for the Model of his *Venus*, which was the Admiration of the World,

I have

I have ply'd this fair *Greek* with Visits, loved her even to Ido'atry; my Respect has been ever equal to her Virtue; and the greatest Favour I obtain'd from her, was to suffer me thus to speak to her: *I love you, Daria; Daria, I adore you*; but she would not suffer the least Expression which might make her understand any thing else.

This incomparable Beauty often said to me; Mahmut, *I have a great Respect for you, because you are discreet and virtuous, and should also love thee, wert thou not a Man. Live on still as thou hast done, and thou wilt thereby oblige me to respect thee more; but think not to obtain from Daria any more than an innocent Affection; I owe all to my Husband, and I will never be unfaithful to him.* If I ever attempted to snatch any small Favour, it was always in vain, having ever repelled me in such a Manner, as made me lose all Hope, and at the same time, feel a new Increase of Passion. Consider, dear Oglou, what pass'd then in my Heart, and what a War I was to sustain.

In my great Inquietudes, and sharpest and cruellest Pains, Philosophy supplied me with no other Remedies but Patience: She set before me the Examples of the Esteem which the Ancients had for Pudicity; but she hinder'd me not from also remembering, that we find in History almost all the Philosophers more transported with Venereal Pleasures, than retained by any Precept of Wisdom. *Diogenes* and *Aristotle*, became they not Fools hereby? And *Seneca*, whose Morals are the Rules of the Wisest, was he not driven out of *Rome* for his Adulteries? I tell thee plainly, the Precepts of *Philosophy* have influenced me not a whit; I derided them, and was resolved to love on, and that more excessively, than all the *Philosophers* together. *Daria's* soft Severity has laid on me stronger Laws than all the Dogms of the *Stoicks*; so that nothing can make me change my Resolution of loving her eternally. If it be true that Love is a Weakness, only Men, who are noble Creatures, are thereunto subject; it being certain, that mean Souls cannot love, because they

have no Heart, *Nature's Religion is far higher than Reason*; one is the Work of God, whereas the other comes from Man: Be not then astonished, if *Reason* does so oft yield to *Nature*.

Daria had a Mind to learn *Italian*, which she thought a better Language than others. I taught her a great deal of it in a little Time: But Business quickly deprived an unhappy Master of the most perfect of Scholars, She said once to me; ' *Mahmut*, let us have a perpetual Amity for one another, but let us love and esteem *Virtue* far before *Friendship*. Teach me *History* and *Geography*, to the end, that knowing Kingdoms, Towns, and Provinces, and those that govern them, I may know into how many Parts this Earth, which appears so admirable, is divided; I may now learn the Forces, Methods of Government, Manner, Religions of Nations, the Difference of Seas and of Mountains, of Lakes and Rivers, of inhabited Places, Islands and Desarts, that I may not confound the barbarous with the civilized Nations, and Republicks with Monarchies.

My worthy Friend, so noble an Inclination, join'd with a singular Grace, and attended with so many rare Qualities, as well Spiritual as Corporal, have reduced the poor *Mahmut* to a Slavery, more rigorous than that which he suffer'd with thee in *Sicily*. How many Nights have I pass'd in horrible Restlessness? And how many time have I vainly believed I was with *Daria*, whom I sought in my Chamber; when Sleep succeeding long Watching, represented her to me in a Dream more complaisant than ordinary? In a Word, *Daria*, so filled my Thoughts, that I forgot my Books, and avoiding also the Company of my Friends, she alone was my daily Study, and I renounced all other Diversions; the finest Ladies were nauseous to me: the finest Gardens seemed horrible Forests, which serve for a Retreat to savage Beasts. In fine, my Passion (Friend *Oglou*) comes to that Excess, that I can find no Remedy. My Tears were of none Effect to soften *Daria*, and I have call my self a thousand times

in vain at her Feet ; all my Cares and Respects have served only to give me Proofs of her Virtue. Receive as thou oughtest the Confidence I put in thee ; and if thou hast not an Heart that can love so ardently, at least have some Complacency towards a Man whose Passion has no Bounds, and reproach me not with having had too much Weakness, for having been vanquish'd by a Woman. 'Tis Women that have always won the greatest Victories ; it is their Trade to conquer, and ever those too who subdue all Things. It is impossible for me to comprehend, how I could love so strongly without dying ; neither can I imagine how I shall live, if I be long deprived of the Sight of her I love. *Daria* has left *Paris*, and is distant thence above three hundred Miles ; consider then the Condition I am in : I reckon my self in a solitary Place, altho' there be above a Million of Inhabitants in the Town where I dwell. I stir not out of my Chamber ; and as to my Books, they will yield me no Comfort. My only Care is to nourish my Distemper ; whereby I study to make my self more miserable, because it is not in my Power so much as to seek the Way the only to Happiness I wish for. *Mahmut* may be said to be the Son of Sorrow ; my Beard is nasty and overgrown ; I am out of love with myself, comfortless, avoiding all Society, and am become invisible to all People. I have no Hope amongst so many Causes of Despair, but the Assurance which *Daria* has given me, that I possess a Place in her Heart ; and I believe it, because she says so. Heaven has given her a frank and generous Soul, and promises her great Things in the Course of her Life. I have secretly drawn her Horoscope ; as far as I could find, all the Planets are favourable to her ; she is to live a great while ; Fortune will second her Intentions ; she will enjoy an uninterrupted Health ; and this lovely Person will ever gain the Advantage on all that shall oppose her. Happy is he that shall be of the Number of Friends, but more happy is he that shall be beloved of her, for he may assure himself of being beloved of the handsomest and most deserving Lady in the World.

Read

Read my Follies with some Indulgence, and be not angry with me when thou knowest I was ready to renounce my Religion for that of *Daria*; she began to convince me, and I began to believe, that the Religion of the most perfect and most virtuous of Women was the best. If thou hast Interest enough in the *Grand Vizir*, or the *Kaimacham*, obtain for me the Permission of leaving *Paris* for six *Moons* only, but by no means let them know the Occasion. I love much, absent from *Daria*; but it seems to me, I do not yet love enough; I would have more violent Transports during her Absence, than those I suffer whilst I see her; to the end I may say, that at all Times, and in all Places, never any body loved so much. I have discover'd to thee my whole Heart; excuse my Passion, if thou will not excuse thy Friend so horribly tormented with it: And remember that the beautiful *Roxalana* said to the Great Solyman: *That the Pleasure of commanding, and making one's self obeyed, is to be reckon'd but in the second Rank of Pleasures; whereas that of loving and being beloved, is the first.*

Henry IV. was one of the greatest Kings of *France*, than whom no Man ever more greatly loved. When he reproach'd the Duke of *Biron* with the Love he had for a Lady, mark what this Cavalier told him: *Great King, how is it possible thou shouldst not be indulgent to Lovers, who hast so often said when thou wast in Love, thou forgottest thy self, thy Kingdon, and thy Subjects?* And this dear *Oglou*, is what has happen'd to me at *Paris*, with this admirable Person, whom thou could'st not find at *Constantinople*. But alas! I should be an unhappy Friend, if with such a Love as mine I should prove thy Rival. I will not imagine it; yet I must tell thee, that rather than yield thee *Daria*, I will sacrifice to thee all the Time I have to live. I have given my Picture to this Charming *Greek*, who has receiv'd it very courteously yet rather as the Work of an excellent Painter, than the Picture of a Lover.

But being full of Goodness, and perfectly discreet, she said thus to me when I gave it her: *Mahmut,*
thank

thank Heaven thou art not handsome; such sort of Men have not ordinarily all the Successes they pretend to in their Amours. Wise Ladies think these kind of People doat too much on themselves; and those that are disdainful, find them not submissive enough and respectful; and such as fear evil Tongues, dare not look on them; and also those Gentlemen imagine Ladies Favours are granted them because they cannot withstand them, and they expect often times to be intreated to receive them: Whereas those to whom Nature has not been so liberal of her Favouris, do more than barely love; they adore their Mistresses, they are always humble, and know how to gain the coyest Beauty by their Respectfulness. As to thy part, who art none of the fairest, thou wilt be happy if thou changeest not thy manner of living with me.

It is impossible for me to say whether *Daria* has any considerable Imperfection, being too greatly prepossess'd by my Passion, to discover Defects in a Person whom I regard as an *Angel*. Time and her Promises will one Day shew me, whether she has the Vices usual to those of her Nation, which are commonly an Infidelity cover'd over with the most specious Pretences, and a continued Dissimulation.

However, send me a Cask of the white Balm of *Mocha*, and of the best Sort for Scent thou canst get; and at the same time send me also some of that precious *Eastern Wood*, whose Scent is admirable to perfume the Body. I have promised the fair *Daria* this Present; let me soon have it, to the End I may accustom *Daria* to the Neatness and Delicacies of the *Mahometans*. Preserve also thy Health; and if thou enviest me, love as much as I do; but love with Continency, if thou wilt love long, and be long beloved.

The Great God preserve thee from loving however, so excessively as thy Friend *Mahmut* does; the Dolors being therein always certain, and the Fruition uncertain.

Paris, 10th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER

LETTER XX.

To the Invincible Vizir Azem.

THE *Chiaus* arrived here this same *Moon* in which I write to thee, and is in perfect Health with all his Attendants.

I do not tell thee in what Manner he was received by the People at *Paris*, it being of small Importance; seeing they have no other Part in the Government of the Kingdom than that of obeying.

The Populace curiously observ'd his Habit, his Beard, and his Gait, all as extraordinary. 'Tis certain (invincible Leader of his Armies, in whom *God* has placed his Authority of governing in the Earth) our Envoys are not esteem'd where-ever they come, unless amongst the most rational and honest Part of Mankind, which are always the least Number,

Not only the common Sort run to see our Ambassadors, for the Vestments they wear, to which their Eyes are not accustomed; but even considerable Persons have the same Curiosity. Some silently approve; others lift up their Hands, to note their Astonishment; and others, by an insolent Murmur, discover their Contempt, not understanding the Justice due to Strangers, whose Manners and Fashions ought never to be blamed: It being impossible but whole Nations must have good Reason for their Customs and Practices since so many Ages.

But he was not thus receiv'd at Court, where the King and his Minister, do all Things with great Prudence; being respected as a Man that brought good News, and sent by the greatest and most puissant Emperor in the World, As to the Subject of his coming, every body speaks diversly The Ministers of foreign Princes are fearful, lest the new Sultan should attempt the entire Ruin of *Christendom*, and prove more terrible than *Amurath*. In the mean time, this Heathenish
People

People shew incredible Joy at the burning of the Imperial City of *Constantinople*. But the King has no part in the Sentiments of his Subjects.

Many say that the King of *Red Heads* will renew the War with the Empire, and is persuaded to this by the *Great Mogul*; and there are some who affirm, he has already laid Siege to *Babylon*. But those who speak with more Sense, and less Hatred, affirm, That all the *Port's* Enemies are like Reeds exposed to the Wind, which will be easily overthrown, if the *French* take not part with them; and it is the Folly of this Nation (who believes her self superior to all others, and the Arbiter of the World) to think too well of it self, *because she is respected as a Friend to the faithful Mussulmans*.

The *Jews* (invincible *Vizir*, Principal Minister of the Empire, favoured of God) are the cursed Race of all Nations; the *Christians* accused them of having set *Constantinople* on Fire; and greatly praised the *Greeks* for quenching it, to which, say they, they have no less contributed by their Hands, than by the Fervency of their Prayers; and that Heaven had preserved it from a total Ruin, because of the sacred Reliques of so many *Christians*, whose Bodies lie buried in our *Mosques*.

The News which came from Foreign Countries, does every Day denote the Disorder there is in all Parts; there being nothing heard from the Side of *Spain*, but secret Conspiracies, and publick Revolts.

The People of *Catalonia* are in a continual Commotion, and so irritated, that they give no farther Quarter to the *Spaniards*. And from *Portugal*, there comes more surprizing News.

London is as full of Disquiet, new Parties every Day forming themselves against their Sovereign *Charles*, Master of those three famous Islands; whence it appears, that the God of the *Nazarenes* is angry with these unbelieving People.

I shall not fail to inform thee in due Time, of such Events as deserve thy Knowledge. For if Things do
not

not soon change their Posture, these Countries, forsaken of Heaven, (seeing the *true Law*, established by our *Prophet*, is not received here) will soon change their Masters, their Manners, and Religion.

I adore, with the profoundest Humility, and with my Head lying at thy invincible Feet, the Authority which the *Sultan* has intrusted thee with; and which thou deserveest, as well for thy Faithfulness, as the Greatness of thy Actions.

Paris, 20th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1641.

L E T T E R X X I.

To Cara Haly, the Physician at Constantinople.

SINCE I received thy Letter, and the Marks of thy Remembrance, I imagine My self much better. I make two Meals a Day. I walk about in the Morning, my Appetite increases, I have no more of those nauseous Belches, I can read longer, and I sleep a Nights more soundly: Yet I cannot say I am in perfect Health; so long an Illness has deprived me of that which I do not find return. There's wanting to my intellectual Faculties a certain kind of Vivacity, and Readiness in their Operations, which is extremely abated; but I know not whether this be an Effect of the Pain I suffered, or whether it comes not from Nature weakned; as fast as our Life advances to throw it self, as it were into the Arms of Death, which is what is most certain for me. I would willingly entertain thee on the Condition wherein I find my self, could I overcome the Weakness of my Disposition, and the Coldness of the Season, which pierces me, maugre all may Care to prevent it in this Icy Climate. The Ink I write with freezes on my Pen, and a Body may say, the Fire freezes too, wanting as it does, its usual Activity, the Cold being so sharp, that it extinguishes the natural

tural Heat. The City where I dwell, appears on a sudden transformed into Chrystal : The Northern Wind has in one Night frozen the River ; and all the Fountains which were wont to quench the Thirst of a Million of People, are dried up. All Trade seems to have ceased ; the Rich are retired to their Fires, and the Poor are creeping about the Streets ; where, notwithstanding the Exercises they use to oppose the Cold, these seem already starved. The Bread is become like Marble or an hard Stone ; all Things are frozen, and ancient People affirm, never the like has happened in their Days, or in the Times of their Fathers. There has been found some few Miles from *Paris*, in the great Road, two Men clad in very coarse Stuff without Shifts, their Legs naked, Heads shaved, and Cords about their Middle, dead with Cold ; They were found embracing one another, thinking thereby to communicate mutual Heat, to keep off, or at least retard their Deaths. These People are *Dervises* of the *Latin* Church which are called *Capuchins*, whose Life is a continual Pennance. They rise in the Night to their Devotions, and spend their Time in Comtemplation. They live upon Alms which they receive of the *Christians*, which consists of Bread, and Roots and Herbs ; and if the Charity of these *Nazarenes* extends to the giving any Thing more, they use it with Sobriety. They sleep on Straw, and are obliged to wear the Habit Night and Day, which is dreadful to look on, and in which they are buried when they die. When their Occasions require them to travel, they are not permitted to go on Horseback, in a Coach or Chair, but only in Vessels when they go by Sea, or on Rivers, so that they have only that granted them, which *Cato* was so afraid of, and every Body else, but Fools ; which is, To travel by Water.

In fine, their Life is accounted a continual Hell ; and they will be finely chous'd, if they find not a Heaven when stripp'd of their Mortality.

These *Religious* are under the Direction of one *General* ; observe a long Silence, which is a great Virtue among

among them, and with this are so exactly obedient to their *Head*, that they have no Will left.

They have very obscure Prisons under Ground, whereunto they thrust those who scandalize their *Order* by their Crime; for notwithstanding the Holiness of their Rule, and the Vigilance of their Superiors, to make it observ'd, there's never wanting some who wander from the right Way, and often make use of the Esteem which Men have their Piety, to commit such Enormities as would be soundly punished by the Men of the World. These kind of *Dervises* cannot handle Money without being guilty of a mortal Sin. Notwithstanding this Profession of Poverty, I have seen these *Dervises* dress'd up with greater Magnificence than our *Mufti*, in the Time when they celebrate their *Masses*, ascending up to the *Great Altar*, covered with the finest Linnen, and thereon Vests embroidered with Gold, the most delicately wrought as can be imagined, and oft enriched with Pearls and precious Stones. In their Sacrifice they eat the *Consecrated Bread*, which they call the *Messias his Body*, which they are wont to place in a Plate of fine Gold; and they also put into Cups of the same Metal, a Liquor which they say is changed into the *Blood of their God*, as the Bread into the *Body*, as soon as they have pronounced certain Words which they secretly mutter.

The Sacrifice is offered every Day, and not only the People are present at it, but the greatest of the Kingdom, with their Monarch on his Knees, and in a supPLICATE Posture. There stand about the Altar several stately Candlesticks, wherein burn white Wax-Candles, which render the Sacrifice still more solemn.

I relate to thee what I have so often seen; for I chuse to be frequently in these *Infidels* Churches, and at their solemn Festivals, the better to conceal what I am.

Yet happy is he that lives satisfied with himself, assured he serves God in the Manner he will be served. Thou hast this good Fortune, and that of being in thine House at thine Ease. When thou goest out thou wearest a long Vest down to thy Heels, lined with soft
and

and warm Furs, whilst I am obliged to cover my self barely with a black short Cloak, which scarcely reaches below my Knees, and is too thin to resist the piercing Northern Blasts, and is, in Truth, a very ridiculous Habit; yet which I am obliged to wear, for the Service of him whose Slave I am, which cannot cover my bandy Legs, and ill-shap'd Body. I expect with great Impatience, the Season which o'erspreads the Gardens with Flowers, the Fields with Grass, and crowns the Trees with Blossoms, and brings back the pretty Birds, who publish the joyful News of the *Spring's* Approach: that being the Time wherein I may expect my Health.

As to what remains, thou wilt oblige me in making Trial of my Friendship, that thou may'st know, there's not in all the Empire of the *true Believers*, a more faithful Friend, and one that loves thee more cordially.

Adieu.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER XXII.

To the Kaimacham.

THE Court of *France* is an Assembly of Politicians, who discover or hide themselves according to their Interests, and are more wont to hold their Peace than to talk. They explain themselves in more than one Manner, on the Things which they cannot conceal; and I draw from them that is necessary for my Instruction, and thy Information. There have happened such sudden and surprizing Motions in *Spain*, as cause considerable Advantages to be hoped for by *France*, which seems to have had a great Hand in them, on which thou may'st make what Reflection thou thinkest convenient.

The Mountains which divide *France* from *Spain*, was called the *Pyrencees*. *Catalonia* is a Province watered
on

on one hand by the *Mediterranean* Sea and bounded by *Navarre*; it lies situated at the Foot of these Mountains; The People have taken up Arms and vigorously opposed the *Catholick King's Ministers*; and the *Portugueses* have done the same Thing, but with different Success. The Kingdom is comprised within the the States of *Spain*, and the richest under her Dominion. Her Situation is advantageous, lying between *Galicia* and *Castile*, and watered with the Ocean, which brings her immense Riches.

The principal Town of *Catalonia* is *Barcelona*; and *Lisbon* is the chief Town of *Portugal*. The first has taken for the Pretence of its Insurrection, the Insolencies committed by the *Protestant* Troops, which served the *Catholick King*, and was quartered in this Province. And the other having long concealed its Design, has at length shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke; and set up a King of their own Royal Race.

'Tis said that Count *Olivarez*, the King of *Spain's* chief *Minister* and Favourite, designing to mortify the *Catalonians*, horribly charged that Country with Soldiers, and sent thither the most licentious Troops to quarter; imagining to chastise the Pride of this People in this Manner, without any Form or Process.

This *Minister's* Design has had so far its End, the Province being full of Divisions and Slaughters, there wanting nothing to compleat their Miseries. The Soldiers exercise unheard of Cruelties, they shed indifferently the Blood of Infants, Old Men, and Women; overthrowing Altars, and ruining Temples. The most courageous Peasants gather together to repel Force with Force, and revenge themselves most cruelly on as many of the *Castilians* as they can light of, without sparing the King's *Ministers*; killing all they meet, seeking those who are hid, to punish them with the greatest Rigour; running after those who seek their Safety by Flight; nor pardoning the very Priests, if never so little suspected.

The Count of *St. Colonne*, commanded not long since in *Catalonia*, with the Title of *Vice-Roy*; which poor
Man

Man is now before *God*, where he receives the Recompences or Chastisements he has deserved, being the first Victim sacrificed to the Peasants Fury. His Blood was the Prologue of a dismal Tragedy, which will not end without more dismal Event to the *Spanish* Monarchy, and the *Catalonians* themselves.

The *Vice Roy* withdrew himself into the Arsenal of *Barcelona* at the first Insurrection of the Peasants, where he was besieged by a great Multitude of these seditious People; and seeing he could not remain there in Safety, he went out to go on board the Gallies; but the Grossness of his Body hindring him from hastning as fast as those who accompanied him in his Flight, he remained alone; and being tired, fell into a Swoon, and lay dead for some Time on the Sand between the Rocks which lie upon the Sea. His Servant, the only one that remained with him, brought him again to himself by casting the Sea-Water on his Face; but he opened his Eyes only to see his own Departure more nearly. He was set upon in this Condition, wherein he could not stir himself, by a Crew of Blood Hounds who first shot at him, and then hack'd him in Pieces, having first stabb'd him in a thousand Places. His Servant defended him as well as he could, in covering him with his Body, but his Zeal was fruitless; and all the Wounds he received, saved not one from his Master. He was an *African*, and had been his Slave. The Courage and Fidelity of a Man of so mean a Birth, deserves, at least, that it should be said of him, That he died in imitating the Virtue of those ancient *Romans*, which are at this Day praised and admired by all the World.

The *Vice Roy's* Death stopp'd not the Peasants; they proceeded to Excesses scarcely imaginable; and their Barbarity made them commit such horrible, together with such ridiculous Actions, as can hardly be express'd.

The Wretches went to the Palace of the Marquis de *vill Franche*, General of the Gallies, where having cut the Throats of as many as they met with, they burnt and batter'd all the Household Stuff, and carried
in

in Procession on the Top of a Pike a little Brass Figure which they thought black a Angel; which Figure was only that of a Man, wherein a Clock was included, whose ingenious Springs made him move his Eyes; which Sight so surprized these Peasants, who had never seen or heard of such a Machine, that they remained in such a Stupidity, as retarded for some time the Effects of their Fury. But there was one more bold than the rest, who approaching to the Piece, cried out, *'Twas the familiar Spirit of the Marquis de Ville Franche, and ought to be seized on and thrown into Prison to take away its Power,* Which he had no sooner said, but he laid Hands on it, and tied and bound it fast on the Top of a Spear, and with great Shouts, walked it about the Town. The ignorant People capable of any ridiculous Impressions, as well as the Women, who are not hard to be deluded, followed them, convinced that the Marquis's Devil was carried triumphantly along the Streets. Having ran through all the Town of *Barcelona*, this Rabble gave the Clock into the Hands of the Bishop and Inquisitors to exorcise it, and drive out the Devil, whom they thought capable of destroying their whole Province.

Affairs are carried on more seriously in *Portugal*, and at a more moderate Rate; the Inhabitants of *Lisbon*, as well as the Nobility, have treated the *Castilians* with more Humanity: They immediately elected a King, who reigns peaceably as Heir of the Crown, and therefore ascertain'd of being maintained by the Affections and Fidelity of the People. There is already News of his Coronation; the Ceremony of which was performed with great Pomp and Magnificence. The *People* as a Mark of their Affection, have presented a Million of Gold to their new Lord; the *Clergy*, sixty thousand Crowns, and the *Nobility* four hundred; and the new King has taken on him the Name of *John IV.* King of *Portugal*, instead of that of *Don John Duke de Braganza*.

Never any Plot better succeeded: The *Portugueses* have driven out from them a puissant and politick Nation

Nation without Bloodshed, saving that of a Villain : But of that thou shalt hear more the next Opportunity ; for I shall carefully inform my self of the Particulars of so extraordinary Event, to give an exact Account to the *Vizir*. 'Tis said King *Philip* is the most unfortunate Prince that ever ascended the Throne, committing his Affairs to the Management of another ; so that it may be said, the Duke who reigns as Sovereign in *Madrid*, has chosen *Philip IV.* for his Favourite. The Minister commands, and the King obeys ; the Master's Weakness authorizes the Servant's Power ; the Confusion of that Nation being so great, that those made by Heaven to receive Orders, as the only Persons who give them.

I kiss the Hem of thy Garment, with all the Submission possible of a poor and humble Slave.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER XXIII.

To Dgnet Oglou.

TO what Purpose dost thou bewail the Ruins which the Fire has caused in *Constantinople*, if there be no Remedy for the Losses thou hast suffer'd ? Not all the *Vizirs* together, nor the Prince himself, whose Authority knows no Bounds, could resist the Fury of this Element. What then can we do, Wretches as we are, liable to all Injuries and Disgraces ? Art thou the first honest Man that has been ruin'd ? 'Tis true, Heaven had enriched thee : Thy Chambers were hung with the finest *Persian* Tapestry ; thou had'st a great Number of Slaves, fine Gardens, and Bathing-places, beset with delicate Fountains ; must thou despair for the Loss of the greatest part of these ? Comfort thyself, seeing thou art not in a Fault, nor hast contributed to thine own Misfortune ?

L

Thou

Thou tellest me, that the burning of the chief City of the Universe, has deprived thee in one Day of all the Commodities and Conveniencies thou hast labour'd for many Years : And I answer thee, That He which gave thee these Goods, expects Thanks from thee, in that having enriched thee with what thou hadst not, he did not take from thee thy Life at the same Time.

Hast thou so soon forgotten *Seneca's Demetrius* ? Hast thou lost any thing which thou didst not receive from the Liberality of Fortune ? And if whatever thou hadst was given thee, wherefore dost thou afflict thy self, as if thou couldst not obtain again as much ? Stretch out thy Hand towards Heaven ; pray and beseech : He that has given thee once, is not impoverish'd by the Liberalities he has shew'd : But rather ask of him spiritual, than these temporal Gifts, which do all wither and die.

If thou livest, thou wilt see thy self in the same Condition again : I cannot give thee a better Consolation : I will not lament with thee, it seeming to me a fruitless Thing. If thou beest desirous to forget the Losses thou hast suffer'd, consider the great Damages the same Fire has caused to so many *Believers*, in the same City where thou bewailest thy Misfortunes. How many People, that had less than thee, have lost more ? And how many better People than thyself, as more submitting to the Will of Heaven, have suffer'd Miseries infinitely greater than thine ?

So great a Conflagration, wherein the chief City of the World saw it self near reduced to Ashes, must needs have been a very dismal Spectacle. When I read the Relation which thou hast made me, I tremble with Horror, to see so many magnificent Houses, and stately *Mosques*, devoured by the Flames, and reduced to nothing ; with such Riches, Goods, Household-stuff, and inestimable Merchandises, publick Registers, and choice Manuscripts, whose Loss can never be repaired, being become the Prey of this Element, which devours all Things. But thou and I are not the first
neither

neither shall be the last, who bewail the Ruins of our Country. How many Towns in *Asia*, how many in *Greece*, have been swallow'd up in an Instant, by dreadful Earthquakes! And, how many Ruins are to be found in the famous Cities of *Syria* and *Macedonia*? And how many times have the Isles of *Cyprus* and *Paphos* been entirely depopulated! We see not only the most solid Edifices perish, which are the Works of Men, but even Mountains annihilated. There are whole Countries which have (as it were) vanish'd; the Sea has cover'd such Spaces of Land as might have made whole Provinces, and which were extreme populous. How many Promontories do we see, which were heretofore certain Guides to Pilots, but are now buried in the Sands, and cause oftentimes Shipwrecks! And if the Works of Nature be expos'd to such great Ruins, what may not mortal Men expect to suffer! But I spend Time in relating ordinary Accidents, when I might remember thee of greater Ruins, which the Fire made in the same Imperial City, after it had been built by the *Great Constantine*, to whom she owed all her Splendor, before the mighty and successful Emperors of the *Mussulmans* had therein established the Seat of their Empire.

Under the Reign of the Emperor *Leo*, if I be not mistaken, the whole Continent lying along the *Bosphorus*, between both the Seas, was entirely ruined by Fire. And twelve Years after, under the Reign of *Basil*, the famous Library, so carefully collected, and with that extreme Charge and Trouble, and which consisted of above two hundred thousand Manuscripts, with the Skin of a Serpent 220 Foot long, wherein were written the entire Works of *Homer*, was consumed. The Fire which happen'd in the Time of *Justinian*, might make one forget others; the famous Temple of *St. Sophia*, which is at this Day our chief *Mosque*, could not be preserved from the Fury of the Flames, being almost wholly consumed by it. I shall not mention the Ruins which have happen'd by Earthquakes, under the Reign of the Emperor *Zeno Izoria*.

There was a far greater under *Bazajet* II. for in *Pruzia*, an entire City, with its Houses, Walls, and 3000 Inhabitants, were buried in the Entrails of the Earth: Which must convince us, there have been in all Ages such Events, as may instruct us to bear our Misfortunes with Patience, and to believe a Providence, and submit ourselves wholly to it.

Let us (my dear Friend) for once rejoice in an Occasion, wherein all others mourn; in that we are able to persuade ourselves, *There's nothing here below d'serves our Care*. I do not say, we should laugh like *Nero*, when he saw *Rome* burning, which he himself had fired, and sang the Passages of *Homer*, wherein the Conflagration of *Troy* is described: Rather do as *Aneas*, who having saved from the Flames which devoured his Country and Estate, his *Tutelar Gods*, his Father *Anchises*, his Family and himself, became an *Hero* that served for an Example to Posterity. He did not spend his Time in bewailing the Goods he had lost, but always kept an undaunted Courage in the midst of the Tempest which threaten'd to overwhelm him, as soon as he was on the Sea, and which forced him to wander from Port to Port, void of all Help, persecuted by a *Goddess*, and other *Gods* who were of her Party; and having gallantly endured so many Disgraces, he became the Founder of the bravest and famousst Nation of the Universe. *Aneas*, in saving his *Gods*, and his Father, who were the Companions of his Fortune, drew down the Graces of Heaven, which put an End to his Miseries, in settling him in a Country, where he laid the first Foundations of an Empire, which since has given Laws to all the World.

Our Sins have kindled the Fire at *Constantinople*; the Debaucheries, Impieties, Hypocrisies, and continual Rapines, which remain unpunished, are the Causes of the Destruction of the famous City of the Universe.

Can we imagine, when *God* sends his Judgments down upon us, that we can be able to resist them? Amend thy Life, if thou desirest to be revenged of Fortune, and be Proof against all her Darts. Increase

in

in Virtue, if thou would'st be invulnerable; be as good in Prosperity as in Adversity. Nothing but good Works can make thee happy in this World, and live when this World shall be no more.

If Reason cannot stop our Tears, Fortune I am sure will never do it. We seem herein very unreasonable; for when we first see the Light, we weep; and when we leave it, we groan.

Live ever with me more nearly than an intimate Friend, and imitate (if a Man can so express himself) the Fire, which (according to what appears to us) consumes all Things, and converts them into its own proper Substance; but which yet, according to the Rules prescribed by its Creator, burns not the Air, nor the other Elements; but keeps them united, warms and conserves them. God has endued Men with an Instinct which ought to do the same Thing; he has fastned them one to another, with such Bonds as nothing can break; I mean the Interest and mutual Needs which they have of one another. There being no body that can be happy, and become rich of himself, there must be Dependencies and Commerce, without which it is impossible to have what is most necessary. There is also a more refined Commerce, to wit, the Marks of Esteem which Men give one another, Succours in Cases of Need, whether of Money or good Counsel; the latter of which is all that can be expected from thy faithful *Mahmut*.

Paris, 10th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Bassa of the Sea.

THE Vessels of *Africk* have again been worsted by the *Infidels*. The Particulars of which must needs be known to thee before they could come here, where there is much Discourse of the Accident at *Goulette*, and the Battle of *Caragoe*, to the great Disadvantage and

Prejudice of the *Mabometan* Name. These Heathenish People make publick Rejoicings for the Victories obtained by another Nation. 'Tis said, that of five Gallies, and three other great Vessels, only one Ship saved itself by Flight, several being sunk to the Bottom, together with the Admiral of *Caragoe*, the rest having been brought into *Malta*; and that there were six hundred *Mussulmen* kill'd; in whose Death our only Consolation is, that they died Martyrs, and their Blood will cry for Vengeance against the *Infidels* that have shed it.

'Tis hard to find the Isle of *Malta* in the Chart, and yet harder in the Sea; it being a mere Atom of invisible Earth: But 'tis not so with the *Knights*, who are the Masters of it; they being a Hundred, often seen and felt by us.

Malta is a *Seminary*, wherein are brought up the bravest Sparks in *Chriftendom*, pick'd out from amongst the most illustrious Families. These Persons know not what Fear is; they have imposed upon themselves the Necessity of Vanquishing or Dying; and therefore they get the Mastery of whatever they attempt; and with those few Vessels they have, they make the *Ottoman* Fleets tremble. They wear a golden Cross on their Stomachs, which is always dipp'd in the Blood of the faithful *Mussulmen*. Eclipse this impious Order, by opposing the Sacred Silver of the *Ottoman* Moon against the Force of so small a Number of *Knights*. My Zeal obliges me to say such Things as may be troublesome to thee; and which perhaps, thou know'st as well as I; which is, that I am persuaded thou wilt be the Conqueror of these Pirates, provided thou once resolvest to draw out in good earnest thy Scymitar, and cast its Sheath away.

The King here is very well: He said publickly, when he heard of the Victory of the *Malteses*, That if he were not a King, he should chuse to be one of the *Knights* of that Place. Thou wilt gain greater Honour, and more Trophies will be raised to thee, than were to *Ariademus* and *Cigala*, if thou undertakest
effectu-

effectually the Destruction of this People. Thou hast my Prayers, that our *Holy Prophet* would strengthen thy Arm; and that *God* would give thee still Favour in the Sight of our most puissant Emperor, chosen to be the chief Commander of the World.

Paris, 15th of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER XXV.

To the Invincible Vizir Azem.

AN illustrious Woman of the House of *Savoy* governed not long since in *Portugal*, in the Name of *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*. Her Name is *Margasita*, and commonly resides at *Lisbon*; but this Princess, with the Title of *Vice-Queen*, had not the Credit or Authority necessary to sustain the Dignity, though she had otherwise all the Prudence and Courage requisite thereunto.

Michael Vasconcelli, her chief Secretary, having usurped all the Authority, carried all Things with a high Hand; to which he added a most griping Covetousness, which was no less disadvantageous to his Mistress's Reputation. And the Marquis *de la Puebla*, a *Castilian* Minister, an Accomplice of *Vasconcelli*, had establish'd himself in this Court, as a rigid Censurer of all the *Vice Queen's* Actions.

The *Christians* call these two Men two Pedants, set over the Princess, as if she had still been in her Minority, to correct and regulate her Actions.

The too great Authority of these two Ministers, became at length a kind of Tyranny. The *Nobility* complained for the Loss of their Privileges, and the *People* at their being oppress'd with Taxes; which made the Ministry of *Vasconcelli* seem insupportable, in which 'twas seen the *Vice-Queen* had no Part. This Princess not having the Power to stop the Course of the Mischiefs which began to spring up, gave Advice of it to the Court of *Spain*, and expected thence the Remedy.

But whether the King was not in a Condition to give any, or his *Ministers* concealed from him the State of Things, the Mischiefs increased, and *Vasconcelli's* Friends, by excusing him, made it almost impossible to avoid them.

When *Margarita* represented the Danger wherein *Portugal* lay, she was heard as a weak and credulous Woman, and was often accused of being over-timorous, which caused a general Revolt in this Kingdom, which was few Days in contriving, and as few Hours in executing.

If thou wilt hear thy humble Slave, I'll relate to thee all the Circumstances of so great an Event; which will seem a Fable, should we refer ourselves to only Reason; but which however is a real History, as is now well known throughout all *Europe*.

Never was there a greater Hatred between two Nations, than that which was between the *Spaniards* and the *Portugueses*: And tho' they had one and the same Religion, and almost the same Humour, yet 'tis not to be imagined, how far their mutual Aversions carried them.

The *Portugueses* have a common Proverb, which says, That a Man is obliged to treat and love another Man as his Brother, whether he be a *Turk*, a *Jew*, a *Pagan*, or a *Moor*, without excepting the most barbarous of Mankind; yea, though he were a *Spaniard*.

They have lived with great Patience under the Domination of *Philip II.* and his Successors, since the Death of their King *D. Sebastian*, (who was killed in *Africa*, in a Battle against the *Moors*) whilst they were suffered to enjoy the Privileges which were granted them. Moreoever, they still expected the Return of their Sovereign; who was said not to have died in the Field, but having long wander'd about in strange Countries, was, in fine, about to return. But the Example of the *Catalomians* made them at length resolve upon what they now executed. The *Nobility* were the first that began the Revolt, and pass'd over those Bounds which Respect does ordinarily place between
between

between the Sovereign and his Subjects. They alledged several Pretences for their Rebellion; but the most specious was, Their Unwillingness to be sacrificed in unjust Wars; wherein the most dangerous Posts were committed to them, and they several times reproached the Duke, Favourite and Minister of King *Philip IV.*

They immediately carried on their Intelligences with great Secrecy; and when they came to declare themselves, the greatest Persons consented to the Conspiracy, and the boldest amongst them have executed it with great Valour.

Don Juan, Duke of *Braganza*, is the greatest Nobleman in this Kingdom, and perhaps in all *Spain*, and already of the Age wherein Men are wont to have Wisdom, together with Strength of Body. He wants not for Ingenuity and Sweetness of Temper. He received the Crown, after long Pressings and Refusals; and indeed is the more worthy of it, as being the lawful Heir to it.

The Favourite Duke was well enough informed of the Reputation and Authority of the Duke of *Braganza*; and considering him as a Prince who might lawfully pretend to the Crown, he made use of several Artifices to drive him out of *Portugal*, or seize him Prisoner. But having always tried this in vain, whether by reason of the extraordinary Watchfulness of *Don Juan*, or that the Heavens, on which depend the Things here below, had otherwise order'd it, 'twas impossible for this Minister to get so good a Prey into his Hands.

This crafty Minister has try'd all Ways, and sometimes made use of the Fox's Skin, and other whiles of the Lion's Voice, to bring about his Ends. Sometimes he tried to draw him to Court, offering him the most honourable Employments there, persuading him to accompany the *Catholic* King in his Voyage into *Catalonia*. But the Duke knew how to defend himself against the Snare, and timely withdrew to *Villa Viciosa*, the ordinary Place of his Abode; and whence he

excused himself from going to *Madrid* sometimes, for that he had not sufficient to bear his Charges according to his Quality in such a Journey; and other whiles on other Pretences, with which the favourite Duke was obliged to seem contented. Though he was not, yet he feigned himself to be satisfied to put in Practice the most exquisite Piece of Policy he ever made use of.

He sent him forty thousand Pistoles, to buy Necessaries, and at the same Time sent him also the general Command of the Troops in *Portugal*; with Order to come to *Lisbon*, and as *High-Constable* of the Kingdom, to observe the Motions of the *United Provinces*, which threaten'd *Spain* and *Portugal* with a powerful Fleet. But he had sent the following Order to *D. Lopez d'Offio*: *Thou hast the Command of the Naval Army; get immediately before Lisbon. Don Juan de Braganza has Orders to visit the Vessels: As soon as he shall enter the first Galley, clap him in Irons, and immediately depart with this Prisoner to Cadiz, where I have appointed People to convey him to Madrid.*

Don Lopez could not execute his Commission; his Army was lost in the *English* Seas, and 'twas written in Heaven, that *Don Juan* should live, and be a King. This Artifice having fail'd, the Duke had Recourse to another, which was, To send an Order to the Duke of *Braganza* to visit all the Forts on the Frontiers, where there were strict Injunctions to detain him. But he perceiving the Project of the *Spanish* Minister, knew so well to excuse himself from undertaking this Business, that he made the Design of his Enemy to vanish this time also, and got leave to retire to *Villa Viciosa*. Those who penetrated not the Artifices of the Court of *Spain*, were astonished at the Accumulation of so many Favours and Honours on the Person of the Duke; affirming the Court had Intention of raising him to the Throne, or bringing him to the Scaffold; in which last they were not mistaken.

Olivarez, who let slip no Occasion of laying Snares for *Braganza*, grew the more obstinate by the Difficulties

culties he met with. He sent him a new Order to raise Troops, and to lead them himself into *Catalonia*, for the Chastisement of the Rebels; this being of absolute Necessity, said he in his Letters, for the upholding of the *Spanish* Monarchy, to which the Revolt of this Province caused great Mischiefs.

The Duke obey'd in part; he raised a considerable Number of Troops at his own Charge; but he took Care of his own Person. He wrote to the Court to excuse him from that Voyage, and added to his Excuses most earnest Prayers; representing, that being sick of the World, he had retired to his own Estate, to lead there a quiet Life, free from the Vexations of Business; which obliged him to intreat his *Catholick* Majesty to grant him that Rest, which was the only Thing he desired. The Duke *de Braganza's* Letter drew no Answer from the *Spanish* Minister; but his Designs were discover'd; and the *Nobility* foreseeing how likely they were to be brought under a more strict Subjection, began to murmur, saying, 'Twas their Duty to rid themselves of those Oppressors, who had so long peeled them, and set up a new Form of Government. The *Poor*, who suffer'd most by the Taxes, were the boldest, and encouraged the rest. Some were for setting up an *Elective* King; others proposed the raising to this Honour the Family of *Braganza*, who alone seem'd worthy of it. Some there were who were for putting themselves under the Domination of *France*; and other Persons of Credit among the People were for a *Democratical* Government; and others again were for turning the Kingdom into a *Republick*.

The *Nobility* were in great Perplexity in the Choice they should make; for 'twas not known whether the Duke of *Braganza* would receive the *Crown*, in case 'twas offer'd him again; for the most qualified Persons of the Kingdom had promised it to him.

There was none but *D. Gaston Cattique*, a Gentleman as eloquent as stout, whom Heaven designed for the persuading of this Prince, that could accomplish

it. He pretended to fight a Duel with a Nephew he had; whom having slightly wounded, he left *Lisbon*, as a Man that had brought himself into Danger; and wandering about from thence, uncertain, as it were, of the Place of Retreat he would chuse, he went at length to *Villa Viciosa*, where having found *Braganza* in his Solitude, he thus spake to him:

I bring thee this Day a Crown, which the Nobility of Portugal present thee; and if thou hast the Courage to receive it, we are ready to put it on thine Head. This Kingdom belongs to thee, as the undoubted Heir of our natural and lawful Princes. If thou acceptest of the Crown, the Kingdom justly belongs to thee; and if thou darrest not receive it, we will chuse another Sovereign of greater Resolution, and who is willing to command us. The Scepter shakes in King Philip's Hand, by reason of the Wars made against him from all Parts. Consider, if thou receivest not at present what Fortune presents thee, thou wilt be obliged against thy Will to obey another: Neither the Nobility, the Clergy, nor the People will any longer suffer the Arrogance of the Castilians. It belongs to thee, at present, to declare, Whether thou wilt reign, and be a happy Prince. All the faithful Portuguese breathe after thee, and desire thee for their Sovereign. Resolve to accept of what is so advantageous, and let us alone for the executing of our Parts.

Don Juan answered coldly to such a bold Proposition; more affrighted at the Peril there was in such an Enterprize, than flatter'd with the Hopes of possessing a Kingdom.

But in another Conference, wherein the Duke was told, the Conspirators were resolved to raise on the Throne another King, if he came not to a speedy Resolution; the Duchess his Wife, who has a Man's Heart, and is more courageous than her Husband, coming into the Conversation, thus spake to him with great Assurance.

My Lord, The Catholick King has sent for thee again to Court; at Madrid thou wilt certainly meet with thy Death, and in receiving the Crown which is offer'd thee,
thou

thou art still in Danger of it: But if thou must perish, which Way soever thou turnest thy self, is it not more honourable to die a King in thine own Country, than to die in Chains in a Prison by the Hands of thine Enemy?

So courageous a Discourse brought Don Juan to a Resolution; wherefore he sent Word to the Nobility, of his Readiness to comply with them.

The Conspirators were ready at the Hour appointed for the Execution of their Design; being well arm'd, and each of them accompanied with a good Number of young Men, who were to follow them, although they knew not the Design. As soon as ever the Signal was given, they all set forth from the Places where they were assembled; and those that were farthest distant, joined the rest, and all together soon possessed themselves of the Palace of the *Vice-Queen*; they immediately made themselves Masters of the Guard, finding no Resistance from them, and this without spilling a Drop of Blood, or doing any Violence. They afterwards cried out all together, *Long live the new King, Don Juan de Braganza, and let them die that govern ill.* They seized on the *Vice-Queen*, and intreated her to retire into an Apartment, where she should be treated with the Respect due to a Princess, but not obeyed as having Authority to command them.

Vasconcelli, who knew himself faulty, and to whom his Conscience reproached his Crimes, in this Moment hid himself in a great Press, under an Heap of Papers, where having been discovered by an old Woman, he had immediately his Throat cut, and his Body thrown out at a Window; where he served for some time a *May-game* to the People; who left not one Part of his Body free from some Mark of their Indignation.

One of this Minister's Domesticks threw himself out at the same Window his Master was thrown; not in a Design of following his Fate, but of saving himself; and he died without its being known whether 'twas by his Fall, or the Musquet-shot which he received.

The Confederates with as little Trouble seized on the Gallies and other Vessels in the Ports, whence they drove the *Spaniards*. They afterwards commanded the *Vice Queen* to retire. This Princess thought she ought on this Occasion to insist on the Greatness of her Birth; she threatened the Conspirators, and afterwards flattered them, assuring them of the Clemency of King *Philip*: She set before them the Greatness of his Power, and forgot not to speak of the Authority of his Favourite, who must needs be much offended on this Occasion; exaggerating the Offence committed against her, both as a Princess, and Depository of the *Catholic King's* Power. But as well her Promises as her Threats were in vain, and she herself was at length glad to accept Conditions from them, who a while before, by Connivance from the Prince, might have executed an absolute Power.

In eight Days time, all the *Castilians* were subdued, or driven out of the Kingdom. All the Forts were surrendered, without any Trouble to the new King, except the Castle of *St. John*; which having made some slight Resistance, was sold for forty thousand Crowns by the Governor.

The Duke of *Braganza* appeared immediately afterwards in the City of *Lisbon*, where the People soon shewed the Affection they had for him; the Prison Doors were set open, and all poor Debtors freed, and a great part of the Taxes taken off. Such an astonishing Success, was attended with whatever might set forth the Joy of the People, who solemnized the Festival with the Sound of Trumpets, and the Noise of the Cannon, and by Shouts and Acclamations, which reached up to Heaven, whom the *Portugueses* thanked for the Liberty which they believed they had recovered. This Event was accompanied with so many miraculous Things, that the Wisest, as well as the Vulgar, were persuaded, 'twas mark'd in Heaven from all Eternity, by the Finger of God. The *Clergy*, the *Nobility*, the *Citizens* and *Peasants*, were profuse in their Liberalities on this Occasion, to give their new
Sovereign

Sovereign ample Marks of their Affection ; and even the *Poor* hid their Misery, that they might not lessen the publick Joy.

The *Spanish* Vessels which return'd from the *New World*, which then entered into the Ports of *Portugal*, remained at the Disposal of the new King, the Pilots not knowing what had happen'd : So that the Coffers of the Prince were filled thereby (as 'tis said) with some Millions.

The King was exalted to the Throne in the last Moon of the last Year: And wise People do hope he will reign very happily, all the Planets being too well dispos'd, not to make him finish his Reign with the same Fortune as he began it.

The vigilant *Portugueses* have order'd out several Vessels filled with good Soldiers and necessary Provisions, to seize of Places and Ports which this Nation possesses in the *New World*, and in the *East Indies* ; and 'tis to be supposed, they will meet with good Success, if Fortune prove as favourable to them in *America* and the *Indies*, as she was to them in *Europe*.

As soon as the Duke of *Braganza* was proclaim'd King, he sent *Manifesto's* into all Parts, and dispatch'd Couriers and Ambassadors to give Advice of his Promotion in the Courts of *France*, *England*, *Holland*, *Swedeland*, and *Denmark*. 'Tis not to be imagin'd the Joy which this Adventure gave to the *Catalonians*. The King imparting to them what had happen'd, offered them also his Assistance ; and these People answer'd him with the same Offers. And this is the End of sixty three Years of the *Despotic* Authority, which the *Spaniards* have exercised on the *Portugueses*.

The News of so strange a Revolution having been carried unto *Madrid*, hear, and consider well the unhappy Condition of the *Catholick* King, to whom this Favourite declared this News.

Sir (said he) I come to rejoice with your Majesty at the good News I bring. Your Majesty is now become Master of a considerable Dutchy. Don Juan de *Braganza* has had the Boldness to make himself be proclaimed

claimed King of Portugal ; has thereby fallen into the Crime of Læfæ Majestatis : All his Estate belongs to you, and is devolved to the Crown, and his Person will soon be in your Power.

Don Juan was Son to *Theodosius* Duke of *Braganza*, Granchild to *Donna Catharina*, who was the Daughter of *Don Duarte*, Brother to *Henry* King of *Portugal* ; and *Philip II.* King of *Spain* took away the Crown from this *Catharine*, to whom it is said it did rightly belong.

The Titles he assumes, are, King of *Portugal*, of *Algarves*, *Africk* on both Sides of the Sea, Lord of *Guiney*, of the Navigation and Commerce of *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*.

This new King is not above thirty seven Years old ; of a middle Stature, but well proportioned ; his Face marked with the Small-Pox, his Hair inclining to yellow, an aqualine Nose, high Forehead, lively Eyes, his Mouth indifferent great, and a masculine Voice. His Carriage is grave, affects great Modesty in his Cloaths, is temperate in his Diet, affable to all Sorts of People, unless Slaves, and such as he believes are Hypocrites ; and his common Word is, *That mean Cloaths will keep out the Cold, and ordinary Meats satisfy Hunger.*

This Prince is not much versed in Books, is of an healthful Constitution, loves laborious Exercises, especially Hunting, wherein he is never tired. He's also musically given, and so light of Heel, that there are few People can out-walk him. He is wont to go to Bed late, and rise early, as knowing that Sleep does take off much from Man's Life ; and to compleat his Happiness, he has Children of both Sexes. His Wife is a *Spanish* Lady, of extraordinary Merit, to whose marvellous Courage and good Qualities he owes his Crown.

The Kingdom of *Portugal* contains one hundred and twenty Leagues in Length, forty in Breadth, and has several Millions of Subjects, comprehending those in the two *Indies*. It has three *Archbishopsricks*, and eight

eight *Bisbopricks*, keeping ordinarily forty Vessels, which find Ports in eight Places of the Country. They can maintain thirty thousand Foot, and several Regiments of Horse. The Revenue of this Kingdom may amount to twenty Millions of Gold, reckoning in the Riches which come from the *Indies, Brazil, Angola*, and several other Islands.

The *French* Monarch will hold a good Intelligence with the House of *Braganza*; *England* will enter into an Alliance with her; the *Pope* will concern himself on neither Side; the Emperor, united by Blood and Interest to the *Spaniards*, will be an irreconcilable Enemy, but unable to do them any Hurt; and the *States of Holland* will find greater Advantage than all others in this strange Revolution. These are the Sentiments of those that pretend to penetrate into the Future, and to know more than others. And if it be true, that this new Sovereign has had, as all Men in his Place would have had, a secret Desire of being King; he has so well concealed his Ambition, that 'tis to be supposed he will prove a most judicious Prince, that will uphold his Authority more by his Wisdom and Prudence, than by Force. The just God cut short the Course of his ill Designs, should he have the Courage and Desire of revenging one Day the Death of his Predecessor, *Don Sebastian*, on the faithful *Mussulmen* of *Africk*.

Thou wilt find, invincible *Vizir*, the faithful and respectful *Mahmut* always ready to execute the Orders which thou shalt send him for the Emperor's Service; and ready to obey the least Signs of thy victorious Hand, to Death, whether natural or violent.

LETTER

LETTER XXVI.

To Enguruli Emir Mehemet Chcik, a
Man of the Law.

TELL me this once, whether thou beest alive and at Liberty ; and whether thou dost really love me, or only pretend. My Friends return no Answers to my Letters, which makes me strangely ignorant of all Things ; I know only by Conjecture that which is never so little doubtful ; and that which is certain cannot be known here truly as it falls out, as being related according to People's Passions and Interests. There's no Body dares write to me freely what he thinks ; and there are few that will inform me of what is come to their Knowledge, lest their Letters should be intercepted.

I know very well we have a new Master, but I know not whether he is thought a more able Prince than *Amurath*, and has the same Courage and Fancy for War. The *Chiaus* that lately arrived in this Court of *France* is very reserved to me, and makes a Mystery of every Thing.

Amurath is dead : Those who say he was cruel, yet declare him to be the most dextrous, valiant, and completest Man in his Empire. The Christians are Fools, who will not hence gather, that our Monarchs most certain Maxim, to reign with Authority, and perfect Security is, *To make themselves be feared, and not to be shy of spilling the Blood of those who serve them ill ; who are suspected by them, or may prove troublesome to them.* Those Troops of *Mutes*, which abide always in the *Seraglio*, ready to obey the least Sign of those who give them Orders, maintain, increase, and render formidable the *Ottoman* Power : For, the Empire would never be at Peace, but in continual Trouble, should all the Sons and Nephews of our *Sultans* be suffered to live : And we should have a whole Nation of Princes,

who

who would be always a biting and tearing, and ruining one another by civil Wars, as is often seen to happen among the *Christians*. Whence this certain Maxim is practised, *That it is better it should cost innocent Persons their Lives, than to destroy those who may be faulty.*

Indeed, I must confess, I knew not that *Amurath* himself kill'd, with his own Hands, his own Sister. Thou that knowest the Secret of this Tragedy, can't tell whether he was transported to that Excess, because she answered with great Haughtiness to the *Sultaneſs* her Mother, who reprehended her on some secret Love she entertained: If this be the Case, she died not innocent, and I have a great Curiosity to know the Particulars of it.

But do not relate to me the unhappy End of his two Brothers, *Bejazet* and *Orcan*, lest thou make an old Wound bleed afresh. Poor Princes, what a Crime have they committed, if their Brother reigns? Cruel King! How great was thy Inhumanity, seeing they obey'd without murmuring.

But *Amurath* was a dreadful Lover, who tamed his Passions with a Poynard; he stabb'd the most beautiful of his *Sultaneſſes*; and for what Reason? The *Christians* pardon him the Blood of his Brethren, which he spilt, of his Sister, and of the brave *Faccardin*, several *Vizirs* of his Friends, and so many brave Commanders, and illustrious Persons; but they will not pardon him the Death of a Mistress: For they cannot conceive how a Prince, a *Muſſulman*, can play the Hangman, in such a delicious Place where he has nothing to do, but to think of giving his Love agreeable Marks of his Passion. But you will tell me, perhaps she was so bold as to wear in his Sight, Flowers and Perfumes which came from his Brother: It is certainly a great Crime not to obey those who have all Power to command us; but 'tis a greater Crime to lay on Commands, to have an Occasion for Cruelty. They say, a Man which does such an Action, is a Monster, but I do not say so.

Inform me what the new *Sultan Ibrahim* does, of his Humour and Inclination. It appears he is still infirm,
and

and stupified with his long Imprisonment. What Alterations has his Entrance into the Empire produced? Will he be sanguinary as his Brother was, or gracious and merciful?

Speak to me once, my dear Friend, with all Freedom, void of Disguise; is he amorously inclin'd? I much value such Princes, for they are generally mild; and this Passion softens them, how cruel soever they may be; makes them liberal, and Strangers to Covetousness, that cruel Monster, which clouds, and sullies the brightest Virtues. How many Persons are employed to chuse fine Women for the *Seraglio*, to contribute to *Ibrahim's* Pleasure? Happy will the handsomest Women of *Asia* be. But the Eyes of this Monarch will be made like other Mens, which are not always allured with the greatest Beauties. Hence it is, That we have seen in our Emperor's *Seraglio*, Ladies which surpassed in Charms all others, and yet died Virgins, and neglected by them to whose Pleasures they were consecrated.

The *Chiaus* has only informed me, that *Ibrahim* appears often on Horseback in the City, and seems a just and merciful Prince, and designs to make the Shepherd *Hassén*, Prime *Vizir*; he that was so long the Companion of his Prison. 'Tis said he often made it his Employment to divert *Ibrahim* in his Confinement, by playing on his Pipe, and making him Discourses without Art, and exream innocent, of what he did when he kept Sheep. He told me also, that he often went for his Diverfion on the *Black-Sea*, to take the Air, and enjoy that Liberty of which he was so long deprived; that he's also much delighted with the Reading of Greek Books, especially *Xenophon* and *Plutarch*; that he's very devout, though not superstitious, according to the Humour of the *Devotees* of our Law, who will have our Sovereigns be implacable Enemies to the *Christians*. If this be necessary to Salvation, to persecute a Religion contrary to ours, what will become of all those who are dead, and never did it? I am of Opinion, *That true Holiness consists in doing Good, and living in Charity with all Men.*

The *Infidels* with whom I live at present, for the Emperor's Service, whose Subject I am, do glory in their strict Observance of this Precept, which is in their Religion, and they are happy if they keep it. But tell me, Dost thou think our Emperor is like to have Children, as is already reported, and that he cannot live long? They are not only the idle People that talk at this Rate, but those whose Interest obliges them to know who is to be the Successor; and many of the solidest think, it will be the King of the *Tartars*, and that those of the Race of *Mula Honkair* will be excluded.

This Race is really illustrious, but every Body knows not the Rise of it. The Head of this Family descends from *Tamerlane*; thou knowest the rest, and I will not dispute with thee about Genealogies.

Whatever passes here below, is so uncertain, that thou may'st accuse me of Imprudence in discoursing of Things at this Distance; for, in Effect, *Ibrahim* may be a Father by this Time. Pray to God, who disposes of Thrones, makes Races endure, or decay; merit from him, by Fasting and Prayers, and beg of him, that he would give me the Grace to live blameless, and die innocent; that I may enter with thee into Heaven, and there enjoy those unspeakable good Things which are reserved for the Faithful.

Love me, though distant from thee; and let me have Tokens of thy Friendship, by stealing some Moments of Leisure from thy ordinary Business to write to me.

Paris, 25th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

The End of the Third Book.

THE JOURNAL OF JAMES M. SMITH

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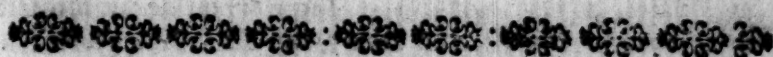
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LETTERS

Writ by

A SPY *at* PARIS.

BOOK IV.

LETTER I.

To the Venerable Mufti, Prince of the Religion of the Mussulmans.

HERE is now found in one Man alone, whatever several Persons of great Ingenuity could acquire by long Experience; and this Man is Cardinal *de Richlieu*, to whose Reputation thou art no Stranger. He was designed, like thee, for the Affairs of his *Church*, and dedicated to Religion; but he is not so much employed about them, but that he applies himself with as great Care to the Affairs of the World; and 'tis he, who under the Authority of the King his Master, governs the Affairs of the *French*. I obey thee, Venerable *Mufti*; thou hast enjoined me to inform thee of the particular Actions of this famous Prelate: But I shall not say much of him, it being impossible to fathom him. He is the most dextrous and subtle Politician that lives in all the Countries of the *Unbelievers*. The famous *Greek Lyfander*, was never so cunning; neither did *Tiberius* shew

shew half so much Dissimulation at *Rome* in Judgment in Affairs, as he ; not in the Time when he set himself to remove his Rivals, and take away all Obstacles which might hinder his obtaining the Empire. He interprets all the Doubts which arise in his Religion ; he's the Arbitrer of Rewards and Punishments, and the King, who knows his Zeal and Ability, leaves to him the Direction of his Kingdom and People ; which he governs and leads as *Jacob* did the Flock of *Laban*. This *Cardinal* wants only the Art, which this great *Patriarch* had to make Men be born as he pleases, as this holy *Israelite* made the *Sheep*.

There came some Days since, a Person from *Germany* who went immediately to the Palace of this Minister, and sent him Word by his Captain of the Guards, that the Letter *B* was come. The Officer was unwilling to deliver this kind of Message to his Master, and therefore desired the *German* to explain this Riddle ; but he only told him laughing, that the *Cardinal's* Alphabet was like the famous Knife of *Delph*, which serv'd to all Purposes ; so that he need only mention the Arrival of the Letter, and he would be understood ; which was no sooner done, but this *German* was privately introduced into this Minister's Closet, where he had a long Conference ; but I could never hear the Subject of it.

He that by his Word created all Things, increase thy Health ; and make thy Authority ever adored, and feared, even in *Rome* itself.

Paris, 25th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER XVII.

*To the Reis Effendi, Principal Secretary
of the Ottoman Empire.*

I Come but now from learning an Adventure, which yet happened some Days since ; but all Things are carri-

carried on with such Secrecy in *France*, that it is almost impossible to know any thing before it is made publick.

There was apprehended here, in the last Moon of *January*, certain *Russians*, in the Habit of *Hermits*, who were to assassinate Cardinal *Richlieu*.

These Wretches confessed before the Judges, as soon as they were put on the Rack, their Intention of killing the King's Favourite, because he was no Friend to the Duke *de Vendosme*, who is natural Son to the deceased King *Henry the Great*. This Adventure has greatly surpriz'd the Court; each Man speaking of it according as his Interest or Affection inclines him. The Duke of *Vendosme's* Friends have declared themselves against the *Cardinal*; and this Minister's Creatures have much aggravated this Attempt, to render this Prince's Family more odious, and heighten the *Cardinal's* Reputation. But the Duke *de Mercœur*, the Duke of *Vendosme's* Son, rode immediately to *Paris*, with the Duke *de Beaufort*, his Brother; the first *incognito* to consult his Friends, and the other to present himself to the *Cardinal*, to obtain that their Father might justify himself before the King, from the Accusation laid against him.

The Grand-child of *Henry the Great* has since desir'd to be confronted with the *Hermits*, and has obtained it; but his Departure at the same time into *England*, has wrought much Amazement.

Some say he has taken an unwise Course, and others say no; because he could not prudently expose himself to the Testimony of such Wretches, who would not matter what they said.

However, these *Hermits* were publickly executed, and their Accomplices are not yet discovered; neither is it yet known, whether any Persons of Quality have had a Part in the Conspiracy; which is not the first that has been carried on against this Favourite; and 'tis believ'd will not be the last. He has a great many Enemies; and the absolute Authority with which he governs, by the Favour of his Prince, will always raise

M

him

him such Adversaries, as will either ruin his Fortune, or take away his Life.

If I write not oftener to thee, thou oughtest not to think my Affection ever the less. Set down in thy Register what I inform thee. Let me have thy Friendship and Protection in Things which are just, and change not thy Opinion of me, till I am changed my self.

Paris, 15th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

L E T T E R I I I .

To the Kaimacham.

JULIUS Mazarine (a Man about forty five Years of Age, of a solid Judgment, and incredible Perspicuity; of whose Family I know no more, but that he is originally from *Sicily*, and born in *Italy*, in the chief City of *Rome*) is lately introduced into this Court. He has by his ingenious Carriage, gain'd the Favour and Confidence of Cardinal *Richlieu*; and he begins already to be employ'd in the most important Business. Those who make Reflections on the Affairs of the World, and carefully examine the extraordinary Talents of this *Italian*, are persuaded one may expect great Things from him; yet, however, the best Way is, not to be hasty in judging of the good or bad Qualities of a Man. He has already been employ'd in Quality of Plenipotentiary of the King of *France* in *Piemont*, to negotiate an Accommodation between all the Princes of the House of *Savoy*. And he has labour'd so fortunately, that every body is astonished that his first Undertakings should meet with such happy Success; especially considering the Hatreds and Pretensions between the Duchess of *Savoy*, and her Brothers-in-Law. Thou may'st remember that I wrote to thee, that the Differences of this Family were like to last, and unlikely to be determined without great Blood-

Blood-shed, both of the *French* and *Spaniards*. But *Mazarine*, who is a most expert *Courtier*, and dexterous *Agitant*, has ended this Affair much to his Master's Honour, to the Satisfaction of the Parties interested, and the *Cardinal* who procured him this Commission. He established the Peace in *Piemont*, and an Union betwixt the Parties, by bringing over to the *French* Interest two Men who were Enemies to it, who were Prince *Thomas*, a Captain of great Reputation, and the *Cardinal of Savoy* his Brother, a Person of a consummate Policy, and an excellent Soldier, though a Churchman.

It is mentioned in the Treaty, That these two Princes shall be received into the King of *France's* Protection: That if the young Duke dies without Children, and the *Cardinal* marries, his Children shall be the Heirs of the Estate of *Savoy*; and in defect of those, Prince *Thomas's*:

'Tis moreover declar'd in the same Treaty, That the King of *Spain* shall be sought to, touching the Liberty of the Wife and Children of Prince *Thomas*, who are detained Prisoners at *Madrid*; and he shall be also solicited to surrender the Places he holds belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*. And in case the *Catholick* King shall not restore them, and set at Liberty the Wife and Children of this Prince, he shall be obliged to serve against the said King in the Army of *France*. 'Tis moreover inserted among these Articles, That the most *Christian* King shall procure a Marriage to be made between one of the Childern of the said Prince, with the Duke of *Longueville's* Daughter, who is a rich Heiress; and that *France* should never make any Treaty with *Spain*, without comprehending the Liberty of the *Princes*, and the aforesaid *Princes*.

Prince *Thomas* is now expected here; and it is said he will command the Army of *France* and *Italy*, against the *Spaniards*, it being certain they will never restore what they have once taken, neither will they set their Prisoners at Liberty.

The King entertaining himself some Days past with the Ambassador of a Foreign Prince, said to him these Words. *When the Spaniards shall restore to the Duke of Savoy the Places they keep from him, I shall willingly discharge myself of the Burthen of the Government of those I keep.* And the Cardinal has publickly expressed himself to this Purpose: *That his Master's Design was only to humble the Pride of the House of Austria, and reduce it to such a Condition, as that its Neighbours might have no such great Cause of Fear from them; seeing the least Motion of theirs raised Alarms among them. That his Edeavours were not laid out in aggrandizing the Dominion of France, seeing the Bounds of it were large enough already; his Intentions being only to give his Sovereign the last Proof of his Zeal and Affection, by leaving the Kingdom in a profound Peace, which might make his Majesty beloved of his Neighbours, and feared by these who are jealous of his Greatness and Power; he being hereby the Arbitrer of Europe, and reigning more absolutely by this means, than if all their Estates belonged to him.* What I have written to thee, happened some time since; but what I am now to inform thee of, is quite new.

We have an Account, that the Princes of Savoy have not kept their Word with the King, Cardinal Richlieu, and Mazarine; and Designs are now taking in hand to punish so great an Affront; and these are busied in Thoughts of revenging a Widow Princess, who has been so long forced to behold bloody Tragedies in her House, by the Wars which the Princes of the Blood make continually; wherein Strangers do interest themselves, who ruin the Estates, and keep them up in perpetual Discord.

This Business will cause new Troubles in Italy, and thou shalt therefore not fail of Intelligence of the Particulars. However, the Princes of Savoy are blamed by all the World, and charged with want of Sincerity. But this being almost a Rule amongst the Christians, *To observe their Word no longer than they find their Advantage in it;* thou needest not therefore much wonder
at

at what these *Princes* have done : Whereby thou wilt know, That a mean Interest being the Motive that sets them at work, and which is all their Reason of State ; he that will one Day equally judge all the World, and can overturn all the Universe in less Time than he created it, will destroy the little Powers of these weak Politicians, who acknowledge the Law of the *Nazarites*, to the immortal Glory of the venerable and holy Name of the Faithful *Mussulmen*.

Paris, 25th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER IV.

To Dgnet Oglou.

I Must forget my self, if I forget thee ; but thinking often on my self, I cannot forget thee ; because thou art my second self. Be persuaded, I speak my Heart, and that I have no other Design but that of loving thee, that thou may'st answer me with the same Affection : For I desire thy Happiness as I do my own.

I am endeavouring to procure thee the Confidence of the invincible *Vizir Azem*, without his perceiving my Design ; and this is the best Manner I could devise of doing it. Thou shalt pretend to receive from some Friend, which thou shalt leave at *Palermo*, the Memoirs which I send thee with this Letter ; and it will not be difficult to make it be believed, thou holdest a Correspondence in this Town of *Sicily*, considering the Time we have lived there together, during our Slavery.

The august *Vizir*, who rules and governs the Empire under the Orders of the most mighty and dreadful Potentate of the Earth, will receive by this Ordinary, an ample Information of extraordinary Events which have happen'd in *Portugal* ; and I have also in-

form'd him of the strange Revolutions of *Catalonia*, which do much weaken the Strength of *Spain*, and notably mortify the Pride of this haughty Nation. I have made known to him, that *Portugal* has already made Choice of a King, and that *Catalonia* is departing from her Allegiance. But I have given him no Account of the choice Memoirs which I send thee; with which thou may'st make Advantage, if thereby thou canst find the Way of introducing thy self to the *Grand Vizir*.

Thou may'st then say to this great Minister, That thou hast received the Memoirs thou presented'st him with, and assure him thou hast translated them out of the *Italian* into *Arabic*; and thou must transcribe them with thine own Hand, that they may not appear to have come from me.

The King of *Spain*, *Philip* II. died of a shameful Disease, which happens only to base People; which appeared a Chastisement from Heaven, for having, like *David*, number'd the People which dwell in the Countries subject to him, to make known to all Nations the Greatness of his Power.

'Tis certain this Monarch reckoned as far as 750 Cities erected into Bishopricks; therein comprehending 60 Archbishopricks: That he had Abbies 114000, Chapters 9230, as many Collegiate Cathedrals; Parish Churches 127000, Hospitals 4000, Confraternities 23000, Congregations of *Seculars* 2300, Houses of Entertainment for Pilgrims 3000, 46000 Convents of Religious People, and of Virgins 13500; with 15200 Chapels wherein *Mass* is said, as well in publick Churches, as particular Houses and Prisons,

And after an exact Search, this King found, that to serve so great a Number of Churches, Monasteries, Convents, Hospitals, and Chapels, there were 12900 Religious Monks, Priests or Clerks; amongst whom there might be found 12400 Priests, which celebrate what the *Christians* call the *Mass*. And to maintain so many People, 'twas computed that the Revenue for this amounted to 3000000 of *Roman* Crowns, without reckoning

reckoning the Alms which were distributed every Day, which amount to the Sum of 4000000 of Gold.

The Curiosity of this Prince went farther; he would know the Number of all his Royal Officers, Governors of Provinces, Towns Castles and Citadels; and, in fine, of all Officers, as well of Sea as Land, Judges, Justiciaries of all kinds, and of all these who had Patents from him or his Viceroys. And he found they were 83000 who were employ'd under Letters seal'd with his Hand, and 360000 who had them signed under his principal Ministers.

He would not know the Number of Persons that lived in his States, lest he should become too proud, and to prevent his Fall, said he, into the Sin of *David*; which he yet could not avoid in his own Person, as I have already said; *God* having spared his Subjects, who had otherwise sufficiently suffered.

One may now say, that this puissant Monarch begins to be dismember'd by the Loss of so many Provinces, Kingdoms, and the Places; and that *Philip II.* knew not the full Extent of his Power; *Philip III.* knew not the Greatness of his Forces, nor the Riches which he possesses, because his Ministers govern'd him; and *Philip IV.* not seeing when he might see, could not see at last when he would.

I think I have said enough to thee to be understood. Do now what thou canst, to make thy self understood by Persons to whom these Advices may be agreeable or profitable; and if thou believest, the Knowledge of these Things may be acceptable to the invincible *Vizir*, who is one of the Lights of the World, endeavour to procure the Favour of this great Man, who governs all the *Faithful*, and to whom the *Divine Alcoran* serves for a Law. I embrace thee, and cordially kiss thee with the Lips of my Soul, if a Man may so express himself. *Adieu.*

Paris, 4th of the 7th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER V.

To the invincible Vizir Azem.

THE Post which came some few Days past, here, have brought ill News. One of the King's Armies has been defeated by an Army composed of Foreigners; at the Head of whom was a Prince of *France*, and several malecontent Lords, who followed him. This Loss has much afflicted the Court, and *Paris* seems to be thunder-struck. The People discourse and argue hereupon according to their different Humours, most making the Loss greater than it was. But those who having lost their Kinsfolk threaten Revenge; and only those that have heard of the Death of their Friends are silent, because their Grief is above Expression. But all in general appear in such a Consternation, as would make a Man imagine this Stroke is irreparable; so true it is, That Losses are insufferable to those that are not accusom'd to lose.

One would think, to hear the *French* talk, that the *Spaniards* are already at the Walls of *Paris* and that these rebellious Princes are already to give an Assault to this great Town. They have retired into a Place which they say is impregnable, and which belongs to a *French* Lord; which Place is called *Sedan*, and 'tis not far thence where this bloody Battel was fought, wherein the King's Party were worsted; but the *Malecontents* are much afflicted at the Loss of their General, who was killed in the Heat of the Fight. Some say he died by Treachery; others by the Enemy: And there are who affirm, That Cardinal *Richlieu* got rid of him by means of an Assassin, whom he entertain'd in his Troops: Others also say he killed himself, by lifting up the Vizard of his Helmet with his Pistol, which discharged itself: However, there is dead in the Person of this Prince, a Prince of great Valour.

I shall

I shall make thee a Recital of this Adventure; I shall learn thee the Motives of this War; inform thee who were the *Mahometans*, and their Qualities; and, in fine, by what Cabals this Tempest is raised; that thou may'st know, great and principal Prop of the *Ottoman* Empire, that Ambition and Jealousy cause Disorders in *France*, as well as in other Countries.

Lewis de Bourbon, Count de *Soissons*, was a Prince of the Blood; he had such a Fierceness in his Youth, as drove away all from him, who once came near him; but having got over this Humour, which disoblighd every body, he became popular, and so courteous, that he was now follow'd as much he was shunn'd before. He used the *Nobility* as became their Quality; had acquired the Friendship of other Princes, and those of inferior Rank could not enough admire him. He was ador'd by the Soldiery, beloved and esteemed by the People; and he had, in a Word, so behav'd himself, that he had gotten the general Applause.

Cardinal *Richlieu* has a Niece nam'd *Madam de Cambalet*, who having been married to a Gentleman, aspir'd to an higher Match, seeing all Things to give Place, and humble themselves before her Uncle.

The Cardinal designed by the Marriage of this Niece, to procure himself such a puissant Prop, that nothing should be able to overthrow his Fortune, or oppose his Authority; He pretended also, his Life would be more in Safety; and that such an Alliance, with those he already had, would put him out of a Capacity of being ever attack'd by any Enemies, secret or declared, whose Number increased as fast as his Authority.

Several affirm, this Priest had Ambition enough to give an Heir, who might one Day ascend the Throne; when it appear'd by the Queen's Barrenness, the King could have no Child to succeed him.

But the State of Affairs being changed, he took other Measures; and thinking of having the Count in his Alliance, he caus'd the Proposals of this Marriage of his Niece to be offer'd the Prince, by one of his

most intimate Confidants; who offer'd him at the same time considerable Sums of Money, and Dignities, to make him Heir of all his vast Estates, and to procure him the greatest Office in the Kingdom, which is that of *Constable*.

The Count of *Saiffon*'s Answer to him that made the Proposal was a Box on the Ear; being in an extreme Passion at any one's daring to offer him a Match so greatly beneath him, when *Madam de Combalet* was the Widow of a Gentleman of mean Condition, and Niece to a Cardinal whom he hated, and himself a Prince of the Blood.

The Cardinal's Messenger, desirous his Negotiation should succeed, was not repelled by this Affront. He insisted on the Virtue of the Cardinal's Niece, saying she would be courted by the Greatest in *France*: And added farther in Commendation of this Lady, That she was a Virgin, although married; because her Husband, out of Respect, dared not approach her; and that Heaven has so order'd it, that this Adventure should be found written in the Anagram of her Name.

This Minister could not dissemble his Vexation at the Refusal; his Choler became excessive, and he resolv'd to practise his usual Maxim, of violently persecuting those whose Friendship he had sought with most Eagerness. He therefore wholly set himself against this Prince, spake all the Ill he could of him, publicly threaten'd his Enemy; but he valued him not, looking on the Cardinal as beneath his Notice.

In the mean time, the Cardinal plotted to put his Threats into Execution, and brought the King in, to countenance him by his Authority; which obliged the Count to absent himself, and make a Voyage into *Italy*, to avoid the Storm he was threaten'd with. Yet his Voyage lasted not long, and at his Return the Cardinal did all he could now to win him; he procured him suitable Employments in the Armies, and made him at length be declared General of that which the King sent on the Frontiers of *Picardy*. Yet this haughty Prince received all with Indifferency, saying only,
That

That a Captain was given to the Army, and not an Army to a Captain.

The Grantees of the Court who observed afar off what pass'd in this Intrigue, instead of mollifying the Count's Humour, did all they could to sharpen it. The Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Brother, who was always this Minister's Enemy, link'd himself with *Soissons*: exhorting him not to yield to the Cardinal's Pursuits; and 'tis said he drew a Promise from him under his Hand, that he would never accept of the Marriage propos'd; and they afterwards swore Fidelity to one another, and that they would join together for the Destruction of the common Enemy; and for this Effect they took Measures with Prince *Thomas*, of the *House of Savoy*, who is at present General of the *Spanish Army* in *Flanders*: They also brought the Duke de *Valette*, and several Lords of the Kingdom, into their Party. Almost all the Conspirators were for killing the Cardinal, and the Time of the Stroke should be when he visited the Quarters of the Army which besieged *Corbie*: But the Count alone would not consent to dip his Hands in the Blood of a Priest.

But the Duke de *Valette*, who saw the Danger wherein he was, when the Conspiracy came to be discover'd resolv'd to shelter himself by the blackest Treachery that could be imagin'd: He discover'd to the Cardinal all the Accomplices; of which the Count de *Soissons* having Notice, he speedily withdrew to *Sedan*. I shall not make thee (invincible Leader) a Description of this Place, which regards on one Side *Luxemburgh*, and on the other *France*, it not lying in my Way to make Draughts of Fortifications like an Engineer, but to give thee a full Account of what the *Infidels* do, and discover their Designs, whereby thou may'st gather what may make for the Advantage of our Great Monarch, whose Power cannot be shaken, but by the entire Overthrow of the Universe.

Sedan is a Dominion which formerly belonged to the Dukes of *Cleves*, who were Sovereigns of it, and at the same Time Dukes de *Bouillon*. When the Count

was in this Place, he thought himself safe; the *Maréchal de Bouillon*, who was the Master of it, by the Testament of the last of this Family, declared himself of his Party, either to make War together against the Cardinal by open Force, or drive him out of this Kingdom, or to get rid of him by Death. Here is was they made their secret Treaties with those who commanded for the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countres*; and a Prince of the House of *Lorraine* enter'd into the Cabal. He bears the Cardinal as much ill Will, and appears as resolute as the rest for his Destruction: He is called the Duke of *Guise*.

There wanted only to this Party the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's only Brother; and therefore the Duke of *Guise* dispatched a Messenger to him, who sold in one Day both his Master and all the rest that were of the Conspiracy. He discover'd all the Secrets of the Cabal; and the better to carry on his Deceit, he caused himself to be apprehended and thrown into Prison, having given his Dispatches to the King's Brother, which he had before shew'd the Cardinal. This Traitor was not contented with revealing these Gentlemens Secrets, who had sent him; but also made it appear that the Prince, the King's Brother, was guilty as an Accomplice of the others Rebellion. Thus these great Men, grown desperate at the Discovery of their Projects, which were indeed contrary to their Sovereign's Interests, and the Kingdom's, were forced to throw themselves into the Arms of the *Spaniards*, and to join with them.

They have raised Troops amongst their Vassals and Friends, and openly declared themselves; and fought with great Valour, as I have already mention'd in the Beginning of my Letter. The King's Army has been very ill handled, and it appears that the Advantage was wholly on the Confederates Side; but it has cost the Count of *Soissons* his Life, who was General and Chief of the Party; and it is at present disputed, to whom is due the Honour of the Victory.

I pro-

I prostrate my self continually at thy Feet, to kiss with all Humility, the Dust of them, assuring thee, thou hast in me a most faithful Slave, that will never change.

Paris, 15th of the 8th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

L E T T E R VI.

To Solyman, his Cousin, at Constantinople.

Pontius Pilate was an honefter Man than thou. He, although a *Pagan*, excused himself of the false Sentence he should pronounce on the *Christian's Messias*, by washing his Hands before the *Jews*, who sought his Death: And, thou that art a *Mahometan*, as I am, and wastest thy whole Body in the Baths at *Constantinople*, in the Presence our Friends, accushest and condemnest me rashly without any Scruple. Thou usest me, like a Rogue; so maliciously art thou set against me, who am of the same Religion which thou professest. How canst thou justify the Hatred thou bearest me, in endeavouring to make the *Kaimacham* believe, I have been corrupted by the Cardinal, who is the King of *France's* chief Minister? Adding, that he ought no more to heed my Letters and Relations sent to the *Sublime Port* (where lie prostrate all the Powers of the World) as not written by an *Arabian*, but but by a *Sacrilegious Heretick*; that I deceive the *Mufti*, so venerable for the Authority which he has in such an *Holy Religion*, of which he is the *worthy Head*; and that I amuse him by my Letters, the better to conceal my Change, seeing I adore in my Heart, and publicly profess an entire Submission to the Decrees of the *Roman Prelate*.

The Quality of thy Cousin, which I have whether I will or no, is so far from with-holding thee, that 'tis made use of to carry on thy pernicious Designs. O!

unwor-

unworthy Kinsman ! Infamous Hypocrite ! Thou wilt discredit me, and break off the Course of my Employment, because I serve effectually the greatest Prince of the Universe. Thou approvest not only my Conduct when I began my Endeavours, under the Orders of the Ministers of the *Divan* ; but thou applaudest me, gave me Praises : And now, when all the Ministers are satisfied with me, and approved of my Behaviour, and gave me their Commendations, thou art the only Man who thinkest it fitting to traverse me, to obscure my Reputation, and blacken my Actions. Is this the Fruit of thy Studies with *Hippo* at *Athen*, to whom thou owest thy Knowledge of *Greek* Authors, which thou so greatly braggest of ? Answer me unjust Cousin, What is thy Design of having me called away by thy base Defamations ? When did I offend thee, and wherein I pray ? But thy Artifices, how great and malicious soever they be, will not prevail over the Sincerity of my Heart ; and, as I shall always, exactly perform my Duty, so I fear not the Loss of my Princes Favour ; he will approve of what I do, and thou wilt die with Envy and Despite.

I needed not have been mistaken : I might have seen the Falseness of thine Heart by thy Countenance. Thou art an *Heraclitus*, always Melancholy, and out of Humour, that cannot rejoice, should Heaven favour our invincible Monarch's Projects. Thou art a false *Zeno*, who under the affected Appearance, of a *Stoick*, concealest a cynical Heart, whose critical Humour is always biting on the Actions of others. Nature has covered thy Face with Sadness mixt with a deadly Paleness, because thou are always busied about some doleful Matter. In like manner it appears, that *Pythagoras* has instructed thee to speak little, as knowing thou art not fit to say or do any Thing but what is hurtful. I know not what is become of *Isouf*, having no Account of him. I am afraid thou hast corrupted this my Kinsman, that I might have no Ally or faithful Friend. Thou hast not failed to instruct him well, having given him so good an Example ; and he has
without

without doubt, been ungrateful, as to imitate thee. He is returned from *Mecha*, and makes me no Answer, giving me no Account whether he has made the Offering for me on the Mountain, whether he has sacrificed the Sheep, whether he has distributed the Alms I enjoined him, whether he will send me, as I intreated him, a small Piece of the old Hangings of the sacred *Mosque*. But I will not concern my self so much at what others do, my Intention being to complain only of thee, because others Offences are not comparable to thine, thou having not left one Stone unturn'd to ruin me.

Continue then in thine ill Nature: I write only to acquaint thee, that I am not ignorant of whatever thou hast done against me. There's nobody but old *Baba* thine Uncle, who can work a Change in thee: Go to him; be not ashamed to see a Man who is employed in the meanest Works, to have more Judgment than thee: Shew him the Infirmities of thy Soul; or, to speak better, confess to him all the ill Things thou hast done, if thou hast any Intentions of becoming an honest Man. Although he be but a Carpenter, he knows better than thee to form the Mind; and can teach thee how to polish and square thy Soul, as he polishes a Piece of Oak, though never so hard and knotty.

He is perfectly instructed in the Law; he is brought up in the Principles of Religion; he will guide thee, if thou wilt suffer him, in the Way which leads to Perfection; he will not permit thee to lye; he will put thee on making Restitution to those, whose good Name thou hast unjustly taken; and he will comfort thee, if thou beest really sorrowful for the Ill thou hast done, and if thou shewest any Regret at thy former Purposes of destroying a Kinsman that loved thee, and still wishes thee all kinds of Happiness, if thou repentest of thy unjust Persecutions, and if of a bad Cousin, which thou hast been, thou wilt become a sincere and hearty Friend.

Paris, 25th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

To Dgnet Oglou.

I Say not that those are Fools that are in Love, but must needs think, that those who believe lightly, are not overladen with Discretion. 'Tis hard for a Man always to keep himself from falling into a Passion; but 'tis not so hard for a Man to keep himself from believing Things with too great Facility, and from being caught with Falshoods, which are the most constant Attendants of Women.

Thou hast spoke the Truth to me, in sending me the Balm and Aloes I wrote for; and I shall not answer thee with Lyes, in speaking of *Daria*, who is the Subject of the Letter which I received from thee. Let me thank thee, without saying any Thing of the Present thou madest me, which is very magnificent and acceptable; and suffer me to complain to thee freely of the Hurt which another has done me. I need not consult my Register, to remember what ever I wrote to thee about this *Greek*; my Heart, which is yet full of it, reproaches me every Moment for having said too much to thee on that Subject.

Never any Thing appeared to me so desireable, as that Herb which *Homer* call'd *Nepente*, to cure me of the cruel Distemper, with which I am tormented, This Prince of Poets makes a Queen of our *Egypt*, to present this admirable *Simple* to *Helena*, which has the Virtue of appeasing immediately all Dolours. and makes us forget the Vexations and Offences offered us. But thou wilt not understand me, unless I tell thee clearly, That *Daria* has forgotten all the Promises she made me, as soon as ever she was from me; not remembring in any Sort my Love. 'Tis true, she wrote twice to me since her Departure, but in so cold a Style, that it is plainly seen her Heart is as cold as Ice to me. As soon as ever she saw herself in the Arms of her
Husband,

Husband, she made him a Sacrifice of my Passion ; and, the better to make her Court to him, and persuade him of her Fidelity she delivered to him my Letters. The Husband laughed in reading them, and said to her, in a Jeer to me : *A Man then so desperately in Love, has only sighed and wrote ? He has done something more* (replied this dissembling Woman) *having promised to send me a Box of White Balm of Mecha, and Aloes-Wood, to perfume me, which yet I do not expect to receive soon, and perhaps never : For if Mahmut be not become a Fool, he will as soon forget me, as I shall certainly forget him. And what hast thou promised this Barbarian ?* replied immediately the Husband. *I promised,* replied Daria, *to send with my Picture, that of the most chaste of all Women ; which yet I do not pretend to do, without your Consent, nay, and Command.*

What I now inform thee, comes from a Place, which makes me not at all doubt the Certainty of it. But having learned by what I relate, the Virtue of this Woman, now hear what the Husband's was ; who having seen my Picture, and commended the Painter that drew it, embraced tenderly his Wife, whom he respected as a most singular Example of Conjugal Fidelity. Thou wilt wonder at Daria's Weakness in shewing him my Picture ; she did do it, and her Confidence has turned to Account, she having received a thousand chaste Embraces for a Recompence. Thou seest here the Happiness of the *Christian* Women, who have Husbands who take so favourably the Offences done them during their Absence.

In the mean time, Daria's Picture does not come ; she returns no more Answers to my Letters, which has discouraged me to write to her for some time. My Passion begins not to be so violent ; and this great Fire which consumed me, will soon turn into Ashes. I have been mightily mistaken, for it is only amongst Persons of an equal Condition, where true and lasting Friendships are to be found. Let us love, my dear Dgnet, let the Bonds of our Friendship be such, as will never break nor be dissolved. Daria is really a great Example of Fide.

Fidelity to her Husband ; but she is also an Example of Inconstancy and Treachery to a Lover, who had sacrificed all to her.

I am resolved henceforward to love no Woman ; and I am certain, my dear Friend, that my Resolution shall hold. Rejoice with me at my Cure, and believe, that if a fine and charming Woman disordered my Brains, the good Humour and Patience of her Husband has brought me again to my Senses. My Adventure should make thee careful to avoid the like Inconveniences ; but thou canst not run that Risque, being happy with the other *Mussulmen* of *Constantinople*, who have Laws which retreat and hinder them from falling into the like Irregularities.

I hope also, thou wilt give over being my Rival, if thou hast ever had any Kindness for this ungrateful *Greek*. If Men must love once in their Lives, let them have a Care of falling into those Excesses which deprive them of their Reason, and make them repent of their Love all the Days of their Lives. My Repentance is great ; and though my Passion be not wholly extinct, yet I feel a Joy which makes me know, That I shall by degrees lose my Passion for her.

Thou mayest be well tired with this long Discourse ; but I shall end it, in sending thee a Description which one of the greatest Wits in *Spain* has made of Woman.

He say, *They be the Sources Life of and Death ; that they are to be considered as Fire, because they use all that come near them as that Element does ; yet they give Man a certain necessary Heat : They are fine Things ; bring Joy to Families and whole Towns ; but are dangerous to keep, enflaming all that comes near them, and reducing them commonly into Ashes. They usually give a great Lustre, but this Lustre is never without such a Smoak, as darkens the Understanding, and makes them often shed Tears, who only behold them. He that has no Commerce with Woman, spends his Life in Melancholy, and yet they are seldom seen without Danger. The Way to manage them, is not to do excessive Things for them, no more than wholly to neglect them,*

them. A Man oft obtains them easily, and commonly loses them more easily. Fire and a Woman are exactly the same; and he that said Women are Fires which burn all Things, has said likewise, that Fire is like Women, which consumeth all Things,

But our religious *Arabians* have spoken yet more elegantly, when they wrote, *That God made a particular Paradise for them; because, say they, should they enter into that of Man, they would soon change it into a Hell.*

Eve play'd her Part so well, when she was seduced by the Serpent in the Terrestrial Paradise, that she deceived her Spouse also, that he might lie under the like Condemnation. But however, this Sex having, among so many Defects, something that is amiable, let us love them at least, because of their Usefulness for continuing the *Species*, but not for their Beauty; whose Enchantment corrupt the Mind, and hinder all the excellent Operations of it: For *Men* perhaps would be *Angels*. were there no *Women*; I mean bad Ones; for good *Women*, as well as good *Men*, can do no Hurt. *Adieu.*

Paris, 20th of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER VIII.

To Carcoa at Vienna.

THE Courier which is now arrived, has brought me Letters and Money from thee. I shall receive the Money upon the *Bill of Exchange*, when it is due, under the Name of *Titus*. I am extremely obliged to thee for the Care thou hast taken in procuring it me, being in a Country where good Words are of no Credit. I have received also the Box, wherein is the Balm and Aloes sent me by my Friend *Oglou*, all in good Condition, and come in good Time. I
want

want only to know how it is with *Ifouf*; for he writes no more to me. I am informed he is returned from his Pilgrimage, and yet has not sent to thee what I desired him to bring from *Mecha*.

I will not complain of any Body; if I do, it shall be of my self. Take Care of the Letters I send thee, and let me know whether we may hope well from the *Grand Signior*, and what is reported at the Court where thou art, and if there be any Likelihood of making War afresh against the *Infidels*,

My Health is indifferent. I live here without Suspicion; and though Cardinal *Richlieu* be an *Argus*, he is blind as to what concerns me; for he knows nothing of my Business, or feigns so at least; neither do I do or say any Thing which may make me suspected for an Enemy.

I assure thee I love *God*, have a great Respect for his Law, and follow my Business with great Fidelity. If thou wilt have me do more, advertise thy Friend of it, whom thou knowest; shew me the Example, and live happily.

Paris, 22d of the 10th Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER IX.

To BerberMustapha, Aga at Constantinople.

WE have arrived to the End of the Year which the *Infidels* solemnize by *Bonfires*, and which I mark by an extraordinary Sadness. I complain not, in that Time making it self the Master of my Heart will soon begin to weaken it. I understand the Follies of those Vows, which are made to Heaven, for the obtaining of a long Life. Those that desire it are wont to make contrary ones, when they become overwhelmed with the Infirmities which attend for the most part old Age. The Occasion of my Complaints is of an
other

other Nature ; I am troubled at the being so far from my Friends and Country, and at my being banished into an Enemy's Country , where I must live like a Man that is in continual Fear, among People who seem to matter nothing.

Thou art now above fifty Years of Age, and I not above thirty two ; and yet I know thou reflectest not much thereupon, thinking thou hast still a long Time to live. 'Thou art of a strong Constitution, art a Lover of Pleasures, searching them every where without any Thoughts of Death, who will spare thee no more than others, whose Health is decay'd ; for *he comes taking great Strides towards us all*. Thou art very fortunate, I must needs say, in conserving in a Body so near old Age, a young Man's Spirit ; which is far from my Disposition : For when thou art in Pursuit of Divertisments, I am continually thinking of Death ; because I believe I have lived too long.

Should the King, or Cardinal near whom I live, know this Night, that *Mahmut* who writes to thee, is one of the *Grand Signior's Spies*, I should lose my Life, perhaps before the next Light : Yet the Fear of such an Adventure gives me no disquiet ; having entirely sacrificed my self to the Master I deserve, who commands all Men on the Earth. Should these *Barbarians* put me to Death, I shall only finish a little sooner, that Course which I must certainly one Day put an End to ; and if I live, I shall have neither Recompence to expect ; nor Pain to apprehend.

Here is much Talk about the Duke of *Lorrain* ; yet there has been more done against him, than said. 'The *French* affirm, That in stripping this Prince of his Countries he has been very mercifully dealt with ; for Justice required more. There are, on the contrary, other People, who do not believe it is possible to do a great Piece of Injustice. In fine, every Man speaks after his Manner.

'Tis said moreover, that this Sovereign being come again into the King's Favour, who had given him a thousand Testimonies of good Will, after what has
passed

passed in 1634, when this *Court* had great Reasons to complain of his Conduct; he drew down again fresh the Indignation of *France* upon him, by a Fault which cannot be excused. I think, this Duke had concluded two Treaties that Year, promising a Submission and eternal Obedience. He had the Honour to dine with the King; and having rendered him Homage for the *Duchy* of *Bar*, he again threw himself into the Arms of the *Austrians*; although he had sworn on the *Gospels*, (a Book as much respected amongst the *Christians*, as the *Alcoran* is among the true Faithful) that he would never forsake the Interests of *France*, what Wars soever she might find; that he would be perpetually fixed to the Interests of that *Crown*; and never hold any Correspondence with the House of *Austria*. In consideration of which, *Lewis* should re-establish this Prince in his Estates, which he was to surrender entirely, bating some Places, and the Capital, called *Nanci*, which he would retain during the War, as a Pledge for the Performance of what he had sworn to; and which yet was to be given up, after the Conclusion of the Peace. 'Tis added, that this Sovereign having Occasion to complain of the *Spanish* Ministers, and the Grandees of this Nation who carry on the War in *Flanders*; he had writ to the Cardinal *Infant*, Governor of the *Low-Countries*, a Letter to this Purpose, and very near in these Words.

The King of France having required me to join myself with my Troops to his Army near Sedan; I would not obey this puissant King, much less your Highness, seeing the Towns subject to the Spaniards, treat me as if I were an Enemy.

The Ladies have had a great Part in this Accommodation of the Duke of *Lorraine*; which has had, like all the Works of Women, a direful Event, This Prince being become amorous of a *French* Lady, was for repudiating his lawful Princess, to whom he owes all his Estate; beginning to separate from her, that he might give himself entirely to the Countess of *Cantecroix*; whom he used as his real Wife.

Good

Good People are sorry for this Prince's Disgrace, as believing his Condition to be past Remedy. The devout Party say, That having been unjustly deprived of his Estates, *God* will work Miracles in his Favour; considering no less than three hundred *Saints*, as they say have been of his Family, which must needs reconcile him to the Favour of Heaven; amongst which, is the famous *Godfrey of Bullen*, who won *Jerusalem* and all *Palestine* from the *Saracens*; whom we must own to have been a great Man, whether we consider his Courage or Zeal for his Religion, which ought to make his Memory famous to all Ages.

I can tell thee nothing more certain on this Subject, having endeavoured to be informed of what I write to thee to satisfy thy Curiosity: And whatever I now recite, has past in *France* with little Noise, or rather with great Silence, as to me; for indeed I must with Shame confess, that I have scarce heard in *Paris* this Event, so famous throughout *Europe*.

Man has nothing but what comes from Heaven, and commonly the strongest, when he has Right on his Side, subdues the Weak, and enriches himself with his Spoils.

By the Law of Nature, every one has Right of judging his own Necessities, and the Greatness of the Danger wherein he finds himself; and, if it be contrary to Reason, I should be Judge of my own Danger, 'tis reasonable another should be so. But the same Reason which establishes another Judge of what concerns me, has made me his Judge; and consequently, gives me Authority to judge of the Sentence which he shall give against me; and to decide whether it be just, when 'tis favourable to me, or unjust, if it be contrary to my Interests.

Nature has given All to Men, and thou and I, and all Men have an equal Right to all Things, hence we have Power to do whatever we will, to possess and enjoy what we think is fitting; and yet, such an extensive Right, is just as if we had Right to Nothing: For, at the same Time, I have Right to a Thing which
pleases

peases me, another stronger than my self by Virtue of the same Right, taken it from me, and enjoys it in spight of me. Hence it is, that one Man invades another with the same Right with which he defends himself, whence do, and will spring up always, the Occasions of Jealousies and Discord which are among Men; which make them at continual Defiance with one another, and keep them in a continual Watchfulness over their Neighbours.

'Tis this Liberty founded in Nature, which makes it lawful in time of War, to resist and invade, not only by open Force, but with all the secret Arts and Stratagems that can be devised; and when a Man would avoid the Danger he is in, in fighting, and has his Enemy in his Hands, he has a Right to use all Means to avoid him, and secure himself from him.

Thou wilt approve of these Reflections, which shew thee the natural Right thou hast of commanding me, as being thy inferior; and, I hope, by what I have written to have satisfied thy Curiosity; and by my Submission, and Obedience, to have given thee a Proof of my profound Respects to thee.

Paris, 7th of the last Moon,
of the Year 1641.

LETTER X.

*To Bedredin, Superior of the Dervises of
Cogni in Natolia.*

LET me, most holy and patient *Dervise*, salute thee with my Head bowed down to the Ground, with the greatest Humility I am able. I now write to thee with my Feet naked, without either Hose or Shoes, as a Mark of my Respect and Veneration, which I have for thy old Age, and the Admiration I have at thy incorruptible Innocency.

The

The Kindness thou shewest me by the long Letter I have received, has given me such Joy as I cannot express; as makes me forget my past Pains, and hinders me from thinking of those which are to happen to me; for I can now willingly leave this World, having had such Testimonies of thy Affection. Thy great Age does not astonish me, seeing thy Father, who is yet alive, is 107 Years old, and thou not above 82; which makes me hope to see a great while yet, both one and the other, draw down, by their Prayers, and Merit of their good Actions, the Blessing of Heaven on the glorious Empire of the *Ottoman* Court, to whom all the Empires and Monarchies of the World ought to submit. The thirty Brethern, who presented themselves to *Selim*, to be enrolled in the Troops which where to serve against the *Persians*, made the Father, who had them all by one Woman, to pass for the happiest of all the *Mussulmans*, in having the good Fortune to beget such a Number of the most noble Species in Nature. But thou and thy Father must needs be more happy than this fertile Parent. Thy Father has fought, and come out victorious from the Perversity of the Age, full of Scars and Sufferings, through the Force of his Courage, the Innocency of his Manners, and his great Sobriety; and, as to thy part, what hast not thou done to make thyself the worthy Son of so glorious a Father? Thou hast not only done what thy Father did before thee; thou hast acquired the same Virtues, and hast so far out-done them, that one may say, Thou hast surpassed Virtue itself. Thy Strength is admirable in the midst of Abstinencies, and other Austerities which thou undergoest; in which, 'tis certain, thou canst not be imitated. But Heaven, to whom only thou livest, will recompence in this World thy pure Faith, which the Enemy of Mankind can never weaken.

The *Christians* say, when *God* gave them the Commandments, he promised long Life to such only who perfectly honoured those, who, under *God*, brought them into the Light. if this be true, as 'tis very like-

ly, 'tis not to be doubted, but that a *Long Life* is the Recompence which God gives those who live well : And the *Nazarenes*, who are Criticks, affirm, That Sin alone is the Cause that Men do not live so long as they did before the *Deluge*, for then they remained such a while in Life, as would tempt one to think they were to have been immortal. They say, that after the *Deluge*, God changed the Nature of Men ; and instead of that great Number of Years, which made up the Course of so long a Life, they cannot live at farthest above 120 Years, and that there are few which arrive to 80 ; and whatever is beyond this is Misery and Torment, or a kind of Senselessnes, which makes Men like Beasts.

I know few People but what are agreed, one may cure or mitigate the Inconveniencies which happen to us ; but few are of Opinion, That Life can be lengthen'd ; yet, if this is possible, we may then believe a Story which is believ'd here, and which happen'd the Year past in *Paris*.

An ancient Man went to a *Dervise* of this great Town, and thus accosted him : *I am come, Reverend Father, to know of you, whether I may in good Conscience determine to live no longer, being quite weary of living. I have already arriv'd to the 129th Year of my Age, by means of a Liquor which Chymistry has taught me, whereby I did scarce perceive from any thing I felt, that I was going down ; yet, however, this long Life appears at present to me irksome and intolerable. My Blood is so purified in my Veins, that I have remain'd without any of those Passions wherunto Mankind are generally subject. My Taste serves me no longer to discover the Delicacy of Meats. My Ears, although they be not deaf, yet will not let me distinguish true Harmony from what is only a Confusion of Sounds. Mine Eyes are open to see, but are not chear'd with any Object. My Faculty of Smelling is struck with Scents, yet they make no Impression on it. I touch, but I feel not what I touch ; and I touch all Things indifferently. Mine Heart is no longer sensible, nor affected with Tenderness and Passion for my Friends. Bile in me has*

no longer its usual Heat. Joy and Sorrow, Anger, Desire of having, Hope and Hatred, are extinguisht in me; whereby I am become insensible in conserving, if I may so say, all my Senses. I am resolv'd therefore to let myself die, provided you can assure me I may do it without Sin; for should I remain two Days without taking this precious Elixir, I am certain I shall soon expire, and so be deliver'd from the Vexation which overwhelms me. 'Tis said that the Dervis answer'd this Philosopher, That he might not desire Death, but, on the contrary, preserve his Life; and supposing he made use of no Secret of Magick to prolong his Days, he should believe that the marvellous Potion, of which he had found the Secret by his Study and Travel, was a Present from Heaven: That 'tis true, he would be rid of a troublesome Life, but he could not procure the End of it without a Crime; and that he was oblig'd to preserve it, to suffer with greater Submission the Pains he complain'd of, which could not be comparable to the Pleasures he had receiv'd, by enjoying the Gift which God had bestow'd on him.

The Great God preserve thy Days beyond those of this Philosopher, and accompany them with whatever may give thee Satisfaction: But I beseech him, above all Things, that he may never slip out of thy Memory, the Promise thou hast made me, of having always a particular Respect to thy Servant Mahmut, who reverences thy Holiness.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XI.

To the Redoubtable Vizir Azem.

I Make thee an Answer, invincible Warrior, by whose Counsels the formidable Empire of the Ottomans is govern'd under the Orders of the most mighty of the Princes of the Earth, and whose Arm is terri-

rible to all the Potentates of the World. I have read thy Letter, wherewith thou honoured the most submissive of thy Slaves, with all Humility which is due to thy sublime Grandeur, whereunto thy Merit has raised thee. And, having cast my self at thy Feet in Spirit, seeing I cannot really kiss them, I obey the Orders thou sendest me, which are to me inviolable Laws.

Banniere, the *Swedish* General is dead. When *Picolomini*, one of the Generals of the *Emperor's* Army, lay just by him; in half an Hour's time he saved himself, the Army, all the Baggage and Cannon, and retired with incredible Swiftneſs over Mountains and Forests, where the Beasts alone could make Passages, having continually the *Emperor's* Army at his Back. He was a Man of great Valour, had been highly serviceable to the Crown of *Swedeland*, and acquir'd the Reputation of an excellent Commander. The *Emperor* had offer'd him some time before great Recompences, and the Dignity of a Prince of the *Empire*, if he would change his Master, and forsake the *Confederates* Party. He had also offer'd, thinking this might move more him, to make him *General* of his Army against the *Grand Signior*: But he refused all these Offers, his Fidelity being unmoveable.

This great Captain was born in *Swedeland*, and when a Child, he fell down from a high Window, without receiving any Hurt; which made the King imagine, Heaven design'd him for something extraordinary. He travelled much in his Youth, and he was seen never tir'd in running to, all Places where there was any War; sometimes in *Poland*, and other whiles in *Muscovia*; and being become *General* of his King's Army, he soon acquired the Reputation of one of the greatest Captains of the *Northern* Parts. He was perfectly skill'd in the Art of Encamping, and no body could ever better draw up an Army for Battle. His Way of Retreat from before an Army stronger than his, must needs be admired by all the World. He ever chose good Posts; and when once he was possess'd

sefs'd of them ; he knew well how to keep them ; so that he was never defeated, whatever Forces his Enemy might bring against him. He has destroy'd four-score Thousand Men in different Rencounters, and *Swedeland* glories in having above six hundred Standards. He was so like King *Gustavus*, that they have been often taken for one another. He was never covetous, but was observed to be a good Husband. Among so many Occasions wherein he signaliz'd himself, what he did when the *Swedish* Army was worsted at *Norlinge*, is most remarkable ; he preserved the rest, though wholly forsaken by the Allies ; and so order'd the Matter, that he rais'd fresh Troops almost in an Instant, and gave his Party Time and Courage to rise up. And this is all I could learn of this great Captain, whose Reputation has given thee this Curiosity.

Although *Don Duarte de Braganza*, the new King of *Portugal's* Brother, serv'd with great Reputation in the Emperor's Army ; yet 'tis said, the *Spaniards* had been very urgent with this Monarch, to make him be apprehended, as soon as ever they heard the King his Brother was rais'd to the Throne. But, 'tis said, the *Emperor* was scandaliz'd with such a Proposition, alledging this would be against the Rules of Hospitality. But the *Empress's* Confessor found such Reasons in his Divinity, as brought over the *Emperor* to yield he should be deliver'd into the *Spanish* Minister's Hands, who conducted him with a very strong Party to the Castle of *Milan*, whence he is not like to stir out till his Brother shall restore the Crown of *Portugal* to *Philip IV.* of *Spain*.

I shall write what remains behind to the *Kaimacham*, who has the Honour of being thy Lieutenant ; that I may not tire thee, who art to be reverenced as the Instrument of the Will of the Master of Lights, and all whole Hours are destin'd to the Government of the World.

May it please him who of nothing has created all Things, that thou may'st lay, one Day, at the Feet of the *Grand Signior*, the Crowns of all the Monarchs,

who commands in the *Infidels* Countries, and becomes thereby the Arbiter of the *Universe*.

Paris 18th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XII.

To the Kaimacham, at Constantinople.

THIS King here has mortified his *Parliament*, by the Advice of Cardinal *Ricklieu*. The *Parliament* are Bodies of learned Men, who decide all Affairs in the Kingdom, as well civil as criminal; and the *Parliament* of *Paris* has a larger Jurisdiction than all others, and as considerable Prerogatives. What I have to say on this Subject, has happen'd from the Beginning of the last Year; and now I relate it, because I forgot to do it when the Thing happen'd: And I will inform thee, before I enter on the Matter, what obliged heretofore the Kings of *France* to set up this great Seat of Justice.

The ancient Kings of *France* gave it Authority of approving and verifying the Edicts and Declarations which they should make, which was a Bar which these wise Princes would fix between the People and the Sovereign Authority. Whence it appear'd, that *Monarchy* was mix'd with *Aristocracy*; without which the Wise have thought, that *States* could not long subsist. And the Princes of this Age have submitted to a Tribunal re-established by themselves, the Resolutions they take, to the End they may discharge themselves toward God, to whom they are accountable, as well as other Men; and to obtain Confidence from their Subjects, in taking from amongst them Arbiters to regulate them. Yet they have ever reserv'd the Liberty of making use of their absolute Power, as is seen in their Letters Patents, where they forget not to insert these Words [*For such is our Will and Pleasure.*]

These

These *Monarchs* also thought hereby to have found out a Way to defend themselves from the Importunities of the *Grandeës*, who often demanded such Things which could not be granted without Prejudice to the whole Kingdom.

The Authority of the now reigning King being out of Danger of being shaken or destroyed, this *Monarch* having his Exchequer well stored, his valiant and experienced Captains, stout Soldiers, and numerous Armies, and good Fleets of Ships at Sea; whereby he would make known to this puissant Tribunal, That if it had been set up to assist the King by its Counsels when required, yet it must not pretend that its Decrees should become Laws to their Sovereigns. He went to the *Parliament* with all the Marks of Grandeur with which he is usually attended on these Days of Ceremony, and with such a great Company of Lords as made the Power of this Monarch easily discern'd. He gave these Gentlemen to understand, he would have them ratify, without more ado, the Orders he would send them, which they term *Edicts*, requiring them to be immediately enregister'd. He afterwards gave them an express Charge, not to concern themselves henceforward in Affairs of State; and to humble them the more, he declared to them, That he would be henceforward the Disposer of Graces and Offices, and bestow Recompences to such as deserv'd them. He added hereunto an Order of giving an Account every Year to his Chancellor of their Departments, and to come and receive every Year his Majesty's Approbation to continue them in their Offices. And, as a Mark of his Indignation and Authority, he put by the President and some Counsellors from their Places.

This bold and politick Action was done (as I may say) in the midst of Dancings and Divertisements, the more to denote the Monarch's Authority; and in the Time of such magnificent Feastings as became the Pomp of the greatest Emperors, in the Palace of the *Cardinal* for the Marriage of his Niece, *Mademoiselle*

de Breze, with the Prince of *Conde's* eldest Son, call'd the Duke d'*Anguin* ; a Prince from whom the World expects great Things, and who all *France* believes will prove one of the famousest Princes in *Christendom*.

The *Catalonians* are obstinate in their Revolt ; their Deputies have been already seen in this *Court*, to intreat a good Supply from this King ; and it is not to be doubted but they will earnestly sue for his Protection : And *France* has already sent Troops near those Parts, and its Fleets appear on the Coasts to encourage this this Nation, and mortify the *Spaniards*. There are a great many Troops raised here ; and this *Monarch* will have in the Spring, eight Armies, commanded by Generals of great Valour and Experience ; besides these two Fleets ; so that *Germany*, *Lorrain*, the *Low-Countries*, *Catalonia*, and *Italy*, are like to be exposed to the Miseries of an impoverishing War. Only *Germany* seems to me able to defend itself.

The vast Genius of the *French Minister* astonishes all the Princes of *Europe* ; he breaks all their Measures, and makes a secret War against them in their own Courts. Nothing can escape his vigilant Care ; he keeps his own Secrets so strictly, that his nearest Friends cannot discover them. His Power and Authority are so great, that the *Princes* of the *Blood* are nothing in Comparison of him ; and his Fame makes him as much respected Abroad as at Home.

His Friends affirm he is ignorant of nothing which is projected in *Europe*. *England* is the Place which he has last attack'd, its Civil Wars owing their Original to his Designs.

I pray Heaven favour thy just Pretensions, and every Day increase thy heroick Virtues.

Paris, 15th of the 1st Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER

L E T T E R X I I I .

*To the most Excellent and most Venerable
Mufti, Sovereign Prelate of the Holy Re-
ligion of the Faithful Mussulmen.*

HE of whom I wrote so many Particulars, some Moons ago, to obey, as I ought, the express Command thou laidest upon me, not only is still living, but is more absolute than ever, in what concerns his Ministry. Yet is it false that this Cardinal finding nothing more (as thou writest to me, 'tis talk-ed of in *Constantinople*) to satisfy his Ambition, (which puts him still upon desiring something farther; being become the absolute Master of what depends on the Kingdom of *Lewis XIII.*) had Designs of making himself absolute Master of what concerns Religion. But he was too knowing a Man, to design the being the *Superior General* of all the *French Dervises*; a Thing which neither the King of *France*, nor the *Pope* would permit. I rather think, this *Minister's* Design has been to subject all the *Christian* Princes to his Master's Interests.

The *Ottoman* Empire would have some Reason to be afraid, were all the *Roman* Prelates wise enough to chuse this Man for their *Pope*. We should see in a short Time all *Asia* agitated by his Intrigues, against the Followers of the great *Mahomet*; and those that follow *Ali*, would not enjoy a much greater Security. Thou knowest that the greatest Marks which the Popes can give of their Piety during their *Pontificate*, is to stir up Wars, and make Leagues against us to over-throw our Empire. Think then what this great Man would do, were he the *Head* of the *Christians*, with those Abilities, and great Indulgence which he every where keeps; seeing, that being only a Subject, and Minister of one Prince, he so governs himself, that there's no

Nation, how far soever distant, but holds its Eyes open on his Conduct : And a *Pope* being always chosen from amongst the *Cardinals*, and the *Pope* now reigning being very old, it may happen that this dangerous Man shall be chosen.

Thou then, whose pure Life makes us believe thou art a *Saint*, pray the Great God to hinder such an Event, which will without Question disturb the Empire of him whom he has chosen to humble all other Potentates, and shew on Earth the Greatness of his Power ; and rather than such a Misfortune should befall us, pray him that has created all Things, that this Man's Eyes be opened to know and embrace the *true Faith* : For, it were better (if I may so say without displeasing thee) that this *Cardinal* should be a bad *Mufti* at *Constantinople*, than a good *Pope* at *Rome*, at the Head of all the *Nazarenes*.

'Tis said that a foreign King consulted this Oracle ; (for he is held in as great Veneration as if he was one) what Conduct he should hold to live securely : And 'tis said, the *Cardinal* made this Answer : *That Kings should live in Fear, and then they would live in Safety ; it being certain they would receive no Poyson from the Hands of those who do not present them their Drink, no more than they can receive Wounds from those whom they keep at a great Distance from them. Those who will not flatter them, will not deceive them ; and where they shall think themselves in greatest Safety, that will always be the Place of greatest Danger.*

I am persuaded, grave and wise Prelate, thou wilt approve of the Answer of this *Minister*. *Julius Cæsar* lived in the midst of Combats, but died in the midst of the *Senate*.

Next, after God, 'tis before thee, Great *Minister* of Heaven, that I humble my self, intreating thee to receive graciously the profound Respects of thy Slave *Mahmut*.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER

L E T T E R X I V .

To his Mother Oucoumiche, at Constantinople.

IT may be said, I have escaped from a mortal Sickness, and remain in Life, only to hear the Complaints of my Friends, who recite to me their Misfortunes; and of my Kindred, who entertain me with the Losses they have sustained. Thou addest, my dear Mother, a new Torment to the Pains I already suffer, by shedding so many fruitless Tears. Oh! how cruel is my Country, that gives so many Occasions of Affliction to those to whom she has given their Birth! Thou hast lost the greatest part of thine Estate in the Fire of *Constantinople*, and Death has deprived thee of thy second Husband. I was but a Child when my Father died, so that I could not then judge of thy Grief; neither was I sensible of my own Loss. Now that I am a Man, I enter into thy Sentiments, I share in thy Grief; and do all I can to comfort thee.

Thou hast lost thy first and second Husband, and thou hast reason to afflict thyself. If the first was an honest Man, 'tis certain the other loved thee extremely; and the Charms of thy Countenance have not a little served thee to acquire the Affection of these two Husbands, which thou knewest how to keep by thy Complacencies and blind Obedience to their Wills; and by such a prudent Carriage, as, one may say, thou wouldst force them to love thee, hadst thou not done it by the Charms of thy Beauty.

But what shall we do in this thy extream Affliction, and in the troublesome Condition I am for the Grief thou endurest, which mingles my Ink with my Tears? Yet we must endeavour to be comforted with a firm Resolution not to afflict ourselves but at the Loss of such Things which will never be in our Power to recover. Thou at the Loss of the Reputation which thou hast acquired of a virtuous Woman; and I, at that of an honest Man.

When my Father died, 'twas not all the Philosophy nor Eloquence of the *Greeks* which could comfort thee ; thy Affliction was stronger than all their Reasons ; and when these officious Comforters had forsaken thee, thou soughtest Ease to thy Trouble in a new Spouse. Him now thou hast lost, but now thou art still in a Condition from hindring this Loss from being irreparable. Thy Virtue has never been questioned, and thou art not as yet so old, but thou may'st think of another Husband. Seek a third, which may make thee forget thy Sorrow for the second. And if thou findest him not immediately, or if thou had some Trouble in seeking a like Comfort to thy Affliction, receive in this Letter the Tears of another Mother, which will shew thee there is a Woman of a far higher Condition, that is more afflicted than thou art.

Paris is still full of the Cries and Sights which come from a Princess of the first Rank. She has now lost a great Prince, her Son, who is slain in a Battle which he had won by a strong Army, of which he was General. Read in my Letter the lively and tender Expressions of the Grief of this illustrious Mother, which draws Compassion from his Enemies, who are forced by the Rules of Civility to make her Visits, Thus does she speak every Day and Hour, to Persons who come to visit her ; and when there's no Body, she thus speaks to herself.

This unfortunate Woman is not a Moment without sighing ; and one would think by her Language, she intended to recall the Soul which has quitted the Body of her Son, the unhappy Count of *Scissens* : Poor Count, a Son so tenderly loved, and so greatly deserved it, where is thy Body now to be found, dyed in Blood, and in that of thy Enemies ? What Victory ? Where are those glorious Marks, that should give me so great Joy, and which give me such cause of Despair ? Why did I bring thee forth into the World, unfortunate Son, if I must so soon lose thee ? Miserable Mother, Unhappy Son ? How art thou Conqueror when I see no other Trophy of thy Victory than thy Death ! I hear from all Parts, that the Count

is victorious, and yet I hear every where that his Enemies rejoice. I see, dear Son, all thy Domesticks that followed thee, return without Wounds, and yet I do not see their Master. None of them can tell me where he is, and in what Place their General lies, who fought with so great Valour, and Success to his Party. But, they are all agreed, the Battlè was won, that my Son is a Conqueror, and that he has lost his Life. Unfortunate Fight, which has made equally bewailed, the Death of the victorious General by his Mother, and the Defeat by the Vanquished! Would to God thou hadst been vanquished, thou mightest have liv'd. I should not have been in this Condition of following thee. 'Twould have been no Shame to have been Defeated, it would have been only a Misfortune, which would have been common to thee with Pompey and Hannibal, to whom Antiquity had nothing to impute, but their ill Fortune. A sincere Reconciliation, a Pardon, or a Peace, might make all that is past, forgotten. A voluntary Exile might have appeased the King's Anger, and perhaps disarm'd the Cardinal; my Son might have lived, France would not have been troubled, a Mother would not have been at this Day comfortless, and the Count's Enemies would not have rejoiced at his Loss. But, to my Grief, nothing of this has happen'd. Alas! the Stay of an illustrious Family is dead: Unhappy Mother, how are all thy Hopes vanisht? But, good God, how was this my dear Son taken out of the World? I know but too well that his Enemies laid continual Snares for him. Methinks I see my Son's Murtherers give him the deadly Stroke in the Heat of the Fight, and in the Instant he was going to enjoy his Victory. Ah! my dear Son! Ah! unfortunate Mother! Why did I not breathe out my last on the dead Body of this Son, so worthy the Esteem of all the World, and whom I so dearly loved? Why didst not thou, too powerful Minister, give me the mortal Blow, rather than let me see so sad a Tragedy: Do you kill me that hear me; or thou, my Son, give me thy Hand, to descend into the Grave where thou art to be buried.

But my Reason fails me; I must, for my Son's Honour stifle these Motions of Weakness: 'Tis true, he lives no longer

longer; but he died in the Bed of Honour, with his Sword in his Hand; he died full of Glory; he died victorious; and even in dying, vanquish'd his Enemies.

Let us cease from shedding Tears. But what do I say? He died assassinated, a Victim sacrificed to the Vengeance of his Enemies, by the blackest Treason, 'tis clear. And yet I would live: No, I must die; let us imitate the Greatness and Courage of those illustrious Women, who threw themselves on the Pile whereon their Husbands were burnt: My Son is more dear to me; let us then die, and weep no more: These Tears are fruitless, but let us live, seeing Heaven ordains it, and let us live to die every Day: I shall have ever present before my Eyes, the Death of my Son; I shall see every Day his bloody Body; I shall continually remember his Respect, his Tenderness for me, and I shall never forget the tender and violent Passion which I had for this Son, for whom alone I lived: But at least, cruel Cardinal, restore me his dead Body. Thou hast thy Revenge, he is no longer alive; give this sad Consolation to a desolate Mother; perhaps this Sight will work the Effect thou desirest, cruel Wretch as thou art; it will unite my Soul to that of my Son.

Dear Mother, if thou canst not comfort thy self by so great an Example of Misfortune as this Princess, it will be hard for thy Son to say any Thing which can diminish thy Grief. Imitate this illustrious Woman, who having suffered whatever Sorrow and Despair can do to a Mother who loves vehemently, and with Reason, suffers herself to be persuaded not to give an entire Victory to her Enemies, who triumph still over her Son, by the Grief which they see his Death has caused. She has been ruled by the Advice of her Friends, and received great Comfort from a Letter sent her by the King, written with his own Hands;

Cousin, The Grief which you shew at your late Loss obliges me to testify the Share which I have in it, and the Displeasure I conceive at the Fault of him which has caused it. And though I ought not to be sorry, by reason of the Conjunction wherein it has happened, yet I must
heartily

heartily condole with you, and contribute what I am able to your Condition.

I can say nothing more to thee, my most honoured Mother, unless it be, that thou shalt always have in me a most obedient Son ; and if thou takest a third Husband, thou wilt be perhaps less unfortunate ; but please thyself.

The great God, who has created all Things, and provides for their Necessities by his infinite Goodness, comfort and fill thee with his Blessings.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XV.

To the Grand Signior's Treasurer.

THE Priest which played the *Tarpaulin*, whom the *French* call the *Archbishop* of *Bordeaux*, of whom I believe I have given thee some Account the 10th Moon of the Year 1637, has lost the Credit which he had with the King, and is at present disgraced. The Opinion of his Valour at Court is much lessened, by his not hindring with the Fleet he commanded, the *Spaniards* from putting Succours into *Tarragone*, a famous Sea Port near *Barcelona*. They lost the last Year twelve Gallies in Fight against the *French* Naval Forces ; but having fitted a mightier Fleet, they have put into this Place the Succours they intended. The *Archbishop* could not or would not hinder them, which will be the Cause that this Place will not come so soon under the Power of the *French*.

'Tis said, that this Prelate was banish'd *France*, and was retired into a City situated on the *Rhose*, named *Avignon*, and belongs to the *Roman* Prelate.

It being a Thing very usual to run down the unfortunate, all the World blames this Prelate, having not always met with equal Success on the Sea in the Employ-

plays he fought, and which did not at all agree with his Function of *Archbishop*; which he might have performed with Applause, in imitating his Predecessor, who was his Brother, the Cardinal *de Sourdis*; and who had left him a Diocese well regulated, rich, furnished with great store of Churches well served, Pastors of great Piety and Learning, whom this Man had procured and settled in his Diocese with great Care; which made his Death extremely lamented.

The *Catalonians* are at length become this King's Subjects; they maintain their Revolt with the *French* Forces, and strengthen themselves after the Example of the *Portugueses*. They fight with such Courage, that they come off continually Conquerors: But I shall make no Relation of their Fights, not of the Blood which is spilt on either Side, which are Matters I do not care to treat of.

God give thee a continual Tranquility of Mind, make thee in love with Peace, and preserve in thee, that vigilant Spirit, so necessary for the keeping the Treasure entrusted to thee.

Paris, 25th of the 2d Moon,
of the Year 1642.

L E T T E R X V I .

To the Kaimacham.

THE Cardinal Favourite of France has such long Hands, that he make a Seizures in those Places which are not subject to his Jurisdiction; and when he has made them, he keeps them without any Thoughts of restoring them. There's no Probability at present that this bold *Politician* will lay Hands on what belongs to the *Grand Signior*: However, I have some reason to write this.

There has been carried, some Days since, an illustrious Prisoner into the Castle of the Wood of *Vincennes*,
and

and thou shalt hear this new Way of apprehending a Great Man in another's House, and in the *Court* of a Foreign Sovereign, who is absolute in his own Estates. This Prisoner was apprehended in the midst of the finest Ladies in the *Court* of *Turin*, at a Magnificent Ball which the *Duchess* Regent of this Estate gave in her Palace. It was this Princess whom I mentioned to thee, who was a Widow to *Victor Amadæus*, Duke of *Savoy*; and Sister to the King which now so happily reigns over the *French*.

The *Duchess*, who had a particular Consideration for this Prisoner, could not behold this Exploit of the *Cardinal's* without extream Vexation. His Name is, if I be not mistaken, Count *Philip d'Aglié*; a Person of great Quality, and whose excellent Parts and Courage do yet render him more illustrious than his Birth.

'Tis not yet known why the *Cardinal* undertook such a bold Stroke, though 'tis said the Council of *France* has had great Reasons to secure the Person of this Favourite. The chief Motive they say was, that he was carrying on some Designs against the Interests of this Crown with the *Cardinal* of *Savoy*, whom 'tis thought he would have married to the Widow of *Amadæus* his Brother.

Richlieu attempted not to carry off Count *Philip* till having made several Trials to remove him from the Court of *Turin*, under the Pretence of some Embassy to which he would never consent; so that his *Obstinacy* cost him his Liberty.

The *Dutchess* greatly complains and reproaches the King her Brother with the Violation of the Right of Nations and Sovereignty; but only her own Court are sensible of these Complaints, they being not heard in that of *France*; and her Ambassador has been seen there in a suppliant Posture humbly begging for the Count's Liberty; or that he might be sent on an Embassy to *Rome*; or at leastwise, that in leaving the Castle of *Vincennes*, he might be imprisoned somewhere in *Paris*.

The Cardinal answered the Supplications of the Ambassador of *Savoy*, That the King his Master did not apprehend *Philip* and bring him into *France*, but out of regard to the Interests of his Sister of *Savoy*; and that she might be assured that for her Sake he should be well used.

Thou may'st see by this Answer a great Haughtiness, and frivolous Reasonings, which sufficiently denote, that this great Minister does not love to be contradicted or opposed in the Resolution he takes; and if an Account of what's done in the World must be given to any one Man alone, he would take it very ill if it were to any Body but himself.

I shall not fail to send thee the Books thou requirest, and inform thee the best I can of the false or true *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, whom his Subjects do believe to be still alive, when I have made sufficient Enquiries into the Truth of the Matter. I kiss with a profound Humility the Hem of thy rich Vest, on which I fasten the Lips of a respectful and obedient Slave.

Paris, 21st of the 3d Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XVII.

To the Reis Effendi, Secretary of the Empire.

THERE was found last Night a Man dead in the Streets of *Paris*, who seems not to be above thirty Years old; he is a *Spaniard*; and had about him a Letter or *Memoir*, which it seems he had written to some Confident at *Madrid*, in these Terms.

‘ Cardinal *Richieu* told me he did not know the
‘ Hand nor Signature of Count *Olivarez*’s Secretary;
‘ and that when he should fill up his signed Blank,
‘ which I presented him, and let fall the pretended
‘ Letter of the Secretary into the King of *Spain*’s
‘ Hands,

‘ Hands, he saw not what Advantage could result hence
 ‘ to the King of *France* his Master. I am very willing,
 ‘ added he, that the King of *Spain* should suspect the
 ‘ Count or Secretary of Infidelity, and of having some
 ‘ Commerce with me ; but it would not be advantage-
 ‘ ous to us he should be plainly convinc’d of it, seeing
 ‘ the greatest Happiness *France* could have is, that
 ‘ Count *Olivarez*’s Ministry should be perpetual ; for
 ‘ being the most unhappy of all the Favourites that
 ‘ have ever been in the Place he possesses, all good
 ‘ *French* Men are obliged to pray to *God* to give him a
 ‘ long Life, and to continue him ever in the King his
 ‘ Master’s Favour, to perpetuate by his Counsels the
 ‘ Disgraces of *Spain*.

He pursued his Point of Raillery in this Manner.

‘ Of a Duke of *Braganza*, *Olivarez* has made a
 ‘ King of *Portugal* ; of a King of *France*, a Count of
 ‘ *Barcelona* ; of a Sovereign Duke of *Lorraine*, a Vassal ;
 ‘ of a Prince Cardinal, a Knight Errant ; of a Lord of
 ‘ *Monacho*, a Duke and Peer of *France* ; and in fine, of
 ‘ *Philip IV.* King of *Spain*, he has made a Count Duke
 ‘ *de Olivarez*.

This is all I could get from so great and illustrious a
Genius.

The just *God*, who has sent us his *Prophet*, ever direct
 thy Actions, that thou may enjoy an happy Eternity,
 and give thee Opportunities of doing Good.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon,
 of the Year 1642.

L E T T E R XVIII.

To William Vospel, *a Christian of Austria.*

GOD be praised, thy *Patriarch Elias*, and his Com-
 panion ; forasmuch as I see thou art a *Saint*,
 and content in the Religion of the bare-footed Friars,
 which thou hast embraced. Thou stirrest me up to do
 Good,

Good, and encouragest me to suffer, and become serious enough to renounce the Pleasures of the World, seeing thou tracest me a Way so necessary to walk in, in order to arrive at Heaven. I did not believe, indeed I confess it, thou wert endued with that Constancy, and was afraid thou wouldst change; but seeing thou hast the Courage of keeping thy Resolution, and enduring all the Incommodiousness which is to be met with in that kind of Life which thou hast embraced; I am sorry for my Suspicions, and profess I have all due Esteem for thee. I love thee as much as one honest Man ought to love another, who having found out the *true Good*, has run impetuously after it; and who has past immediately from a soft and voluptuous Life to the Severities of an austere Religion, in search of an assured Port, which is more usually found in Sufferings and Macerations, than in Delights and Pleasures. There is one Thing, amongst others, which extreamly pleases me in the *Order* thou hast entred; all Things are in common amongst you; one Key opens an hundred Doors; you have no *Meum & Tuum*; all clad in the same Fashion, all go bare-footed; you eat at the same Table, and no Body has better or worse Fare than another. In fine, your Prayers are the same, and so are your Vows of Poverty.

But prithee tell me, what would a Thief have found in thy Cell, whom I saw yesterday hang'd with a Key about his Neck? He had the Dexterity of opening with his Key all sorts of Locks, and has done a thousand roguish Exploits, which have at length brought him to the Gallows. He told the People he died a most happy Man, as having practis'd with great Success an Art inferior to none: That the only Crime he thought he had been guilty of for these thirty Years, was his committing but small Thefts; that had he found the Doors always open he had never entered into any House; and exhorted Magistrates to chastise only those who suffered themselves to be robb'd.

Spanish Authors have written, there's no Law which allots Penalties to those that rob with Prudence and Ingenuity.

genuity. Thus call they those who steal wherewithal to appease the Envious who would accuse them, the Witnesses which might serve to convict them, and the Magistrates by whom they are to be judged; so that the Thief that shall have stolen for himself, and for all others I now mentioned, shall be ever sent away absolved; which makes me think that a Thief is of the Nature of Women, for both one and the other seem only this Day to be necessary Evils, just as Keys seem only good now-a-days to preserve, what may be stolen, and not to hinder it from being so.

How many Things has the Injustice of some People authorized for the Safeguard of a Town? 'Tis not enough to have a strong Garrison of Soldiers; three Elements are not sufficient to defend it against a greater Power that would oppress it. The Earth is raised to make thereof Trenches; the deepest Ditches are dried up, whatever Quantity of Water may be in them; and Fire is inclosed in Cannons, the Effects of which are terrible. If thou surveyest *Italy*, thou wilt find in several Towns, Palaces which have more Gates than *Thebes* had heretofore; and if thou countest the Keys which serve to open them, thou wilt find the Iron they are made of to cost more than the Doors themselves.

Men are not contented to use these Keys according to the common Use they seem to be design'd for, their Ambition makes them serve for Marks of Honour in several Princes Court, where they be Recompences for Services, for Virtue and Valour. The Golden Key in *Spain*, which the great *Lords* wear, denotes, that they know how to open the Gate of Favour. And 'tis the same in *Germany*, and especially in the *Emperor's* Court.

Happy was ancient *Rome*, whose Citizens were so wise, that being advised to turn the Front of their Houses on that Side where they could not be observed by their Neighbours, they answered the Architect, *We rather desire our Houses may be overlook'd into, because we do nothing wherein we fear a Surprise.*
Whereas

Whereas *modern Rome*, on the contrary, may be termed unhappy, wherein there are not enough Gates, and Porters of them, to conceal what is done in the most retired Places of their Palaces.

It is in this City, where Luxury grew to that height under the first Emperors, that all Mens Studies were to find out new Pleasures.

But I must end this Discourse of Keys, of Doors, and Door-keepers; I must not expect to reform the World, nor would I weary thy Patience. Pardon me my passing from the Cell to the Story of the Thief whom I saw executed, and from the Thief to a Discourse of Keys, and other Things with which I have entertain'd thee. I was so full of it that I could not forbear the Discourse, no more than I can now to speak of the Subtlety of the *Spaniards*, who have vaunted of the Worth of their *Escorial* by the great Number of the Keys which belong to it; like that foolish Emperor who valu'd the Greatness of *Rome* by the great Weight of *Spiders Webs* which were there. The *Spaniards* affirm, There are so many Doors to this stately Edifice, that the Keys which serve to open them weigh above ten thousand Weight.

But 'tis time to end this tiresome Letter. Let me then counsel thee to watch over thy Conscience as the *Parisians* do over their Shops, to prevent Violences. Here are so many great and small Thieves, that should they be punish'd as they were chastiz'd in *Syria*, where the same Punishment is impos'd on him that is robb'd as he that robs, this great Town would be soon un-peopled, or become a Prison to an infinite Number of People who would be found faulty.

May it please the Great *God* who should be adored by all Creatures, to incline thee, Great *Prelate*, (after thou art delivered from the Burden of the Flesh) to place thee among the Number of those for whom the Church has a pious Veneration, and respect thy Ashes in such a manner as I hope thy holy and exemplary Life will deserve,

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

To the Venerable Mufti.

THOU wilt not think me troublesome, if thou rememberest the Order thou hast given me ; and I ought rather to hazard the tiring of thee by frequent Letters, than be accused of Neglect for not obeying thee. Obedience must needs be agreeable where the Command is made with Wisdom. When I write to the *Grand Vizir*, 'tis in Trembling ; and if I write to the *Kaimacham*, I am not without Hope ; and I send no Letter to the other *Bassa's* without Inquietude, and great Trouble. As to what concerns my Friends, I divert my self in writing to them. But when it is to thee I write, I may say, 'tis that I may hope, live, and obtain in the *other World* that happy State spoken of by our *holy Prophet*, that Life which is to be the Recompence of all those who shall perform good Actions whilst they dwell among Men.

Cardinal *Richieu* would willingly be absolute in Matters of Religion, as thou art, he would also be thought a Saint, but he knows not how to be one ; and indeed he would be every Thing. However, he does abundance of Things which thou dost not, and pretends to be above thee, because he does not live as thou dost. This Man, whose Head is full of the Affairs of the World, concerns himself in whatever passes in *Europe* ; one only Employ cannot satisfy him ; he is not contented with being the Favourite of a great King, under whose Authority he governs all Things : Some Time ago it was reported he would make himself a *Patriarch*. He aspires extreme high, undertakes the most difficult Matters, and takes a singular Pleasure of making use of extraordinary Means for the Execution of his Projects, that Posterity and Historians may write, that being come into the World with a small Fortune, he died Rich ; and being born in the Condition of a
private

private Man, he liv'd in the State of a great Prince : Observe (*Venerable Prince* of that Religion, which can alone be approv'd of by him who drew the World out of Nothing) two remarkable Strokes of this *French Tiberius*, which I have learn'd but lately.

The Cardinal sent to *Madrid incognito* a General of certain *Dervises*, Man of a fit *Genius*, to second his own, of a piercing and subtle Wit, and very understanding in *secular* Affairs ; after having given him express Order, that as soon as ever he should be in *Spain* he should do such and a such a Thing, and that at his Return into *France* he should remit into his Hands alone the *Memoirs* of what he had transacted. This *Monk* succeeded very well in the Employ he undertook, but in his Return the Cardinal sent an express Command to him, to deliver before he entred into *France*, all his Papers into the Hands of a Gentleman who brought him his Letter. The *Dervis* obey'd, but he was disgraced, and the Cardinal maintain'd it was a Crime to obey on this Occasion ; for having once receiv'd an Order to entrust no Body with these Papers but himself, he could not be excused for delivering them to others ; and for this Reason he forbade him to set Foot within the Kingdom. This poor *Religious* died some Time after, desperate at his Usage ; and perhaps this is the first Time a Man has been punished for too punctual Obedience.

'Tis not many Moons since there came Post a Person of Quality from *Italy*, who brought considerable News to the Cardinal. 'Tis impossible for me to express the Caresses this Favourite made him. And to denote his Joy, he immediately presented him with a nice Diamond, and made him hope for still greater Recompence ; yet this same Person that had brought this so good News was carried to the *Bastile* as soon as he came out of the Cardinal's Closet, where he remained for some Moons without seeing any Body ; so that he imagined himself all that while in a Dream ; but at length his Prison Doors were set open, and the Cardinal would see him, and made him be given as
many

many hundred Crowns as he had past over Days in his Solitude. He accompanied this Present he made him with all the Civilities imaginable, and said these Words to him. *Thou art not to blame, and yet I could not but punish thee for my Fault, when I made thee enter into my Closet as soon as thou camest from Italy to bring me so advantageous News. The great Desire I had to know the Particulars of the Business, made me forget to take off from my Table a Writing of great Importance, which thou mightest have read entire; which contain'd the Revolt of Catalonia, the Demands of this Province, and the Intrigues of France, which caused this Insurrection: And the Knowledge of so important a Mystery might make my Prince lose the Acquisition of so rich a Province; so that I could not imagine a more safe and speedy Remedy, than to shut thee up in a Place where it was impossible for thee to make any Use of the Notices thou didst get by my Imprudence. But Things being at present in such a Condition, wherein 'tis impossible France should receive any Prejudice, I restore thee thy Liberty, and intreat thee to forget the Severity which Reasons of State have put me upon. Receive from my Hands the Present which the King my Master makes thee; and be pleased to reckon me amongst the Number of thy particular Friends.*

I prostrate my self again at thy Feet, holy Prelate, intreating thy Benediction, and that thou wilt look on me as one of thy most obedient Children, having such a Respect to thy Holiness as is due to the greatest Minister of Heaven, that ever interpreted the *holy Alcoran* in the Empire of the Faithful.

I also intreat thy Prayers, that God having Regard to the Supplications which thou shalt offer him, would give me the Grace to live honestly, and serve the *Sultan* faithfully, and that I may die in the Religion of my Fathers.

Paris, 24th of the 4th Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XX.

To the Kaimacham.

THE Books of the *Arabian, Geber*, are not to be found in that Language which thou desirest them in; I have sought for them, I believe, in about two hundred Booksellers Shops, and there is no one of them knows they were ever translated into the Tongue in which thou wouldst have them.

'Tis now some Time since these Books have been common in *France*; and there are several Persons who apply themselves to Dr. *Geber's* Science; but there is no Translation of them into any of the common Languages of *Europe*. When I enquir'd for this Book, the Booksellers ask'd me several different Questions, and especially, Whether I sought for Receipts to prolong Life: Some there were who ask'd me grinning, Whether my Design was to fix some volatile Deity? And others answered the Question, I made them on the Book of the learned *Geber*, only by a Silence, accompanied with some Smiles; and at the same time putting into my Hands a Book, saying unto me, *Here's what you look for, this is what you want*, Mounfieur Abbot: And this Book treated of impossible Things; of the *Quadrature of the Circle* in *Geometry*; of the *Philosopher's Stone* in *Chimistry*; of the *Perfection of the Orator* in *Rhetorick*; of a *Republick*, such a one as *Plato* would have, in his *Politicks*; and of the *perpetual Motion* in the *Mathematicks*.

I did not seem to be much mov'd at these Merchants Dealings with me; but I found a very honest *Capuckin*, who put me in hopes of recovering the *Geber* thou seekest; for he assured me he saw it in *Chaldee*, or in the *Egyptian* Language, in a learned Man's Library, without giving me any Encouragement to think it may be purchased, because he that possesses it is not needy of Money.

Thou wilt not, perhaps, be displeased to know what this *Religious* told me concerning *Chymistry*; and
he

he appeared to me not only to have Learning, but Experience. He assur'd me there were in *Paris* alone several Thousands of Men that applied themselves to this Exercise; and that there were above four thousand Authors who treat of this Science: That King *Geber* was the most knowing and clearest in his Expressions; and yet there are none but such as are real Philosophers, and wholly bent to the Study of *Nature*, that can easily understand him. Whereunto he added, There were several People who labour'd with great Patience, but few with those Qualifications which are necessary to find Success; he affirm'd, That *speculative* Knowledge is fruitless; that one must have a long Practice, and continual Exercise; that most People labour to no purpose, because they do not take *Nature* for their Guide, no more than the Operations she makes in *Minerals*; because according to *Geber*, the Principles of the Art should be those of *Nature* it self; and that 'tis only in Metals we can find Metals; and that 'tis, in fine, by Metals we can succeed in the making of perfect Metals,

This good *Dervis* maintained, that the true Way to proceed to the Perfection of this great Work, consists in the Union of the Mineral Spirits purified by Art, with the perfect Metallick Bodies, having first volatilized them, and then fixed them, in conserving all the radical Humidity, and in augmenting the natural Heat, by a discreet Concoction of the Composition, which comes by this marvellous Ferment, which makes all this Mass boil, and puts it into a Fermentation: So that this marvellous Composition, insinuating it self by Penetration into the most subtle Parts of the melted Metal, by the external Fire, and radically dissolving it, it ripens it, and purges it from whatever is not of the Essence of Gold and of Mercury, till the whole be driven out to an entire Perfection; which made the Master of Masters, the learned *Geber*, say, That this perfect *Elixir* being the pure Substance of Metals, it seeks in the melted Metals that which is of the same Nature with it self, and perfects it.

Now, as it is impossible for the Artist to produce any Thing that is new according to his Fancy, but only to join or separate what Nature has produc'd, *Raymund Lully* would have us understand, that the Body in this Art is the Metallick Being, in which lies the mineral Spirit, because the Metals are nothing else but this Spirit, of which consists the *Philosopher's Stone*; and this Spirit is properly the Virtue of Minerals, in which is contained the Spring of Metals. But the famous *Geber* has plainly shew'd, that this Stone is wholly created and formed by Nature, to which the Artist neither adds, nor diminishes any thing, but only makes it change its Place by his Preparation, which in every other respect is useless.

This *Fryar* affirms, this mineral Body, entirely spirituous as it is, has yet four Sorts of Superfluities, of which it must be purged by the Hand of the Artist, *viz.* a great Humidity, the Earth which is found therein, the ordinary Sulphur which burns, and the Salt which is corrosive; and it must be purified by Calcination, Dissolution, Sublimation, and Fixation, that there may alone remain the radical Humidity, fix'd and permanent; which being afterwards united in an indissoluble manner to the perfect Body, composes this incomparable Body, which is so much sought, and so seldom found, and which is an hot *Elixir*, powerful to ripen, and purify all imperfect Metals, and convert them into Gold or Silver.

There is afterwards given an Activity to the Gold, in refining it by new Degrees of Fire, added to that which it already had.

Thus far went our Conversation, when an old Woman came unhappily upon us, and bereaved me of the Satisfaction of learning of this *Religious* some important Secret which he seemed inclinable to intrust me with. This indiscreet and impertinent Woman using the Liberty ordinary with the People of this Country, cruelly interrupted our Conversation; and I remained struck, as it were with a Flash of Lightning; when this knowing *Fryar* told me, that the Arrival of this
Woman

Woman forced him to take his Leave of Me; and he prepared to be gone, like a Man that was expected for some weighty Affair; when casting his Eyes on my Countenance, he perceived the Perplexity and Confusion which this Separation caused in me; and to comfort me, he said thus to me in my Ear: *I know very well, Friend, thou hast an inquisitive Soul, and designest great Things; meet me at my Cell, and in the mean time I'll tell thee for thy Consolation in plain Terms, that it always has been, and always shall be my Opinion that to labour profitably, one must follow Raymund Lully's Rules. This great Philosopher affirms, and I am of his Mind, that to make Gold, one must have Gold and Mercury; and Mercury and Silver to make Silver: But I understand by Mercury, that mineral Spirit so refined and purified, that it aurifies the very Seed of Gold, and argentizes that of Silver.* These are the very Words he spake to me.

But in leaving me I intreated him to tell me, Whether it was easy to attain to the Accomplishment of this great Work? And what was necessary for that great End?

He answered me, 'Twas very hard; which made almost all People despair of compassing it, there being very few People on whom Heaven bestowed the necessary Qualifications to acquire this precious Art; that these Qualifications consisted in being a true *Philosopher*, and in being perfectly skill'd in *Nature*, in having a Patience Proof against all Disappointments; and that a Man should be in the Flower of his Age, strong and vigorous to endure Labour, well furnish'd with Wealth, and indefatigable. Whereunto he added, That if any of these Qualities were wanting, one might be certain that the other would be so also. That a Man who is unacquainted with *Nature*, works like a blind Man; and that should one fail of Success the first, second, third, fourth, nay, fifth or sixth Time in the Operatation, he is a Fool that then grows weary, and does not again begin to set at work with the same Earnestness and Hopes of Success; and that should a Man want a vigorous Health, Labour would

weaken and make him faint ; and that, in fine, if one be without sufficient Estate, 'tis impossible the Work should succeed ; which demands an entire Man, and such a one as minds nothing else.

The *Dervis* moreover told me as a Thing certain, That several Persons had attained to the Perfection of this Undertaking, which employs so great a Number of *Virtuoso's* in all Parts of the World ; for were it not so, there would not be that Quantity of Gold there is ; for all that of the *Indies* was not sufficient to satisfy so many People, who mind nothing else but gaining of it ; and that, in fine, such great Treasures which are heap'd up, and the Gold that runs in Traffick never came out of the Mines which are in the Mountains, but that a great part has been made by Artists. He moreover assured me, that the Overseers of the *Mint* in *France* affirmed, as a Thing beyond all question, that there was more Gold brought to them than ever came from foreign Parts ; which made him conclude that the Art is true, and that no Man need doubt that there is such a Thing as the *Philosopher's Stone*.

This Conversation, although interrupted, made me cease being incredulous ; and if I were an *Heretick* in this Faith yesterday, I begin now to have Faith, and believe : Only 'tis a Work extream difficult ; and I do no longer wonder there are so many People who deceive others without any Design of doing it ; and am not surprized they should apply themselves to all Sorts of Persons, not excepting Princes ; for they believe still they shall meet with Success ; and not being able to furnish the Charges they must be at, they use all Sorts of Tricks to move those whom Covetousness renders on this Occasion very easy to be persuaded ; and all in general meet in their Operations with great Hunger, Cold, Labour, and Smoke.

It seems as if that which hindred those who have been fortunate enough to attain the Perfection of the Work from communicating their Knowledge in this Matter, was the Dread of the Prince's Power ; as
having

having oft experienced that they are jealous at the Riches of a private Person. Sovereigns cannot endure that a mean Wretch, born amongst the Dregs of the People, should have in his Power wherewithal to make himself happy and several others, which obliges them to deprive these *Philosophers* of the Means of working, and makes them labour in secret, and conceal themselves with more Care when they have finished their Work. Great Men cannot easily suffer private People to become Masters, by virtue of this Art, and do all those Wonders which by this marvellous Metal may be wrought in their Closets, without going to *Peru*, and ransacking there the Bowels of the Earth; they know very well that this long'd for Gold produces every Thing; gives Reputation; makes them follow one, who fled from a Man before; corrupts those who appear the most incorruptible; opens the strongest Doors; overthrows whole Armies; causes a Man to change his Mind in a Moment; makes him that was a poor Man, presently talk *Sentences*. Nay, many *Cbristians* affirm this Metal to be efficacious, that it draws the Souls out of a doleful Abode, called *Purgatory*; so that it seems as if it appeased *God's Wrath*, and brings Men to Heaven.

These afore-mentioned Reasons obliged the cruel *Disclefsan* to put to Death as many *Chymists* as could be found in *Egypt*, and at the same time to cause their Books to be burnt, lest the People who were naturally ingenious, being become too powerful by the Art of making Gold, should undertake a War against the *Roman Empire*. But we find in the ancient Writings of the *Arabians*, that *Moses* having learned of *God* himself the Art of perfectly knowing *Nature*, and that of the Conversion of Metals, and making Gold, to write in Letters formed of this Metal, the Law he prescribed the *Israelites*: He taught it to *Carun*, a poor Man, but his intimate Friend and near Kinsman; who being become very rich by means of this *Science*, had heap'd up immense Treasures, and built himself forty Houses, which were fill'd with Gold, but were all swallow'd up,

and buried in the Earth, by the Virtue of *Moses's* Rod, with the Master of them, whom so great Riches had render'd proud, and made him think of withdrawing himself from obeying this great Servant of *God*, having falsly accused him before the people of divers Crimes, and especially of having abused a Virgin.

The last Thing which was discover'd in the *Venetian* Territories, was a great Urn found in an hollow Cave. In this Urn, which was considerably large, there was another less, and in it two Pots, one full of Gold reduc'd into Liquor, and the other of Silver of the same Fashion, and a Lamp which seem'd to have barnt for many Ages. 'Twas known by the Characters on this Urn that they were consecrated to the *God Pluto*; and there were on them *Latin* Verses which shew'd that *Maximus Olibius* had been the Author of them. Those then who say this Art is false, that the Beginning of it is a Lye, the Middle of the Work meer Fatigue, and the End Beggary, have not said true themselves; and yet one cannot accuse them as having not, in some sort, spoke the Truth.

I beseech the Sovereign Creator of all Things, from whom alone we hold what we own, as being the great and wise Architect of *Nature*, that he would bestow on thee the Science of the learned *Geber*, that thou may'st be as rich as *Solomon*; but above all, that he would grant thee the Spirit of *Aglaüs*, who was ever seen to live content.

Paris, 20th of the 5^h Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XXI.

To *Mchemet*, an Eunuch Page to the Sultans.

THE Adventure which thou relatedst happened in the *Sraglio*, shews that Women are exposed to great Accidents. Their Condition is unhappy when they

they are handsome, but more when they are homely and deform'd. The Fathers, Brethren, and Husbands guard the former, as *Cerberus* guarded the Gates of Hell; and the others guard themselves, and look on all Things with Eyes of Envy and Discontent, which makes them empoison every Thing. But that which happens amongst us, is very different from what's in *France*, where Women enjoy a Liberty almost equal to that of Men. Not but that we see notable Adventures happen there; witness the Queen, who is Mother to a great King now reigning, and yet lives in Exile, and as a Fugitive amongst Strangers, through the Credit of Cardinal *Richlieu*, for whom she has not all the Difference he expected. And an ancient Lady (I may call her so now she does not hear me) told me such Things some Days past, on this Occasion, which I can scarce believe my self, did I not know them to be true from elsewhere.

I am farther told, that this *Cardinal*, not having succeeded in the Design he had of marrying his Niece with a *Prince* of the *Blood*, intended (if he could) to marry her to the King's Brother: But there's no great Likelihood, but so able a *Minister* must see into the mischievous Consequences into which this Promotion would bring him; for it would undoubtedly draw on him the Hatred of all the great People in the Kingdom. And I would not be mention'd at *Constantinople* for the Author of all the News talk'd of at *Paris*.

But 'tis certain this Priest sent the *Chancellor*, a venerable Person, and by his Office a Man of great Authority, to seize on this Princess's Papers, in hopes he might meet with some Letter which might favour that Design. The *Chancellor* executed the Order he had receiv'd, but found nothing of what the *Cardinal* pretended; so that this Persecution served only to manifest this Princess's Virtue, who lives in such a Manner as may not only serve as an Example to all Queens, but all the Women in the World.

Some time after, this same *Chancellor* being come to compliment the Queen on the Birth of the *Daugh-*

she told him in a composed Manner, but very pleasantly, That this Visit was very different from what she had received from him about a Year past.

If Persons that are seated in the highest Degrees, be not secure from the bold Attempts of those who are infinitely below them, and who are born to serve them; the beautiful *Circassian* should comfort her self in the Misfortune she had of being accused. If her Innocency be well prov'd, she will be the more pleasing to *Ibrahim*, and the false Accusation laid against her, will be a new Charm to him: Whereas should she be found guilty, we must grant, she deserves the most dreadful Punishments, for having violated, if I may so express my self, the sacred Nights of the *Seraglio*.

However, the young *Persian* was found disguised in Woman's Apparel in some of the Neighbouring Stables; and though he in the midst of the Torments he suffer'd died without confessing any thing, yet it cannot be said he died innocent, after such an Attempt.

I hope thou wilt inform me what has happen'd since thy last Letters, and in what manner the Adventure of this beautiful Slave shall be ended: I shall be much troubled for her, if she be innocent; and cannot be holy free from Compassion for her, if she prove guilty.

Leave not writing to me; and if it be possible, be not weary of loving me. I speak in the Presence of our *holy Prophet*, I love thee with the same Affection as ever, and I dare not utter an Untruth.

Paris, 20th of the 5th Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XXII.

To the Kaimacham.

TIS about fixty Years since *Don Sebastian*, King of Portugal died in *Africk*, by the Hands of the
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the *Moors*; and yet his Subject will believe him still living.

He parted from *Lisbon* in the Year 1578, in the Design of re-establishing on his Throne *Muley Mehemet Cheriff* of *Africk*, whom his Uncle *Muley Abdemelech* would bereave of his Kingdom; but in Effect, to endeavour at the making himself Master of *Barbary*.

His Army consisted of a thousand Sail, well furnish'd with Provisions, few Soldiers, but a great many Nobility. This Prince was not above 25 Years of Age when he formed this Enterprize: He was a strong bodied Man, of a moderate Stature, but well set; his Hair was yellow, his Eyes great and full of Fire; his Courage was not inferior to his Strength, and he had no violent Inclination to Pleasures, which generally take Mens Minds off from gallant Actions; he was temperate in all Things, yet very forward in Undertakings, and always firm and unmoveable in greatest Dangers. He was a great Husband of his Revenues employing them in his Subjects Defence, or to the Increase of his own Power. He was agreeable to all those that waited on him; and in the freest Conversations he took care not to disoblige any one by sharp Raillery or distasteful Sayings; and so merciful was he, that he avoided all Occasions of condemning his Subjects to Death. He passionately loved War; but 'tis thought the Expedition into *Africk*, wherein he perished, came from the *Spanish* Counsels.

D. Sebastian was kill'd fighting with an invincible Courage. The *Moors* say, that his Enemies were so charmed with his Courage, that his Death drew Tears from their Eyes.

He was forsaken by his own; mortally wounded near the right Eye-brow; and pierced with Darts in several Parts of his Body. He had no Wound in his Head, because he was arm'd; but he had a great one in his Arm, which seemed to come from a Musket-Bullet. 'Tis said he was buried in the Field, near a *Moor*, without any Ceremony, Prayers, or Company of his Relations or Subjects. And this was the End of

this

this great King who made all *Africk* at first to tremble.

Although the *Moors* rejoiced at the Death of so puissant an Enemy, yet his Friends bewail'd his Misfortune: The Kingdom of *Portugal* celebrated his Funeral in a magnificent Manner, and the King of *Spain* proffered several thousand Crowns for his Body, to bury him in a Manner answerable to the Dignity of his Birth and Merit; and four Kings have since supplied his Throne; yet there was found a Man bold enough to maintain in the Face of all *Italy*, That he was really *D. Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*. He presented himself at *Venice*, in an Assembly of the wisest Magistrates in *Europe*; and he recited to them the Accidents of his Life, the History of his Predecessors, the Misfortunes he met with in *Africk*, whence he retired into *Calabria*. He did more; for he stripp'd himself before this illustrious Assembly; he shewed them seventeen Marks on his Body, which were acknowledged, with Astonishment, by the *Portugueses* themselves, to be, at least, very like those which they knew their Sovereign had on his Body; and he also shewed that he had one Hand greater than the other, and a Lip disproportionable in the same manner, which were the well known Marks in the Person of *D. Sebastian*. He talks of Ambassadors which he sent to the *Republick*; he cites the Answers he had receiv'd; and all he says is found conformable to the Truth. He answers without Hesitation to all that is objected; which makes several of the *Senate* believe him to be really the King, and others take him for a Witch.

But, in fine, this Prince, right or wrong, is led away to Prison, at the Solicitation of the *Spanisht* Ambassador, where having long lain, he is set at Liberty, under an Obligation to leave the *Venetian* Countries in three Days time.

Some *Portuguese*, moved with Compassion, disguised him in a *Dervis's* Habit, and conducted him secretly to *Florence*, to transport him afterwards to *Rome*; but the Great Duke of *Tuscany* caused him to be apprehended,

hended, and sent him to the *Vice-Roy of Naples*. He presented himself before him with his usual Confidence, and surpriz'd all that saw him and heard him speak; and seeing the *Vice-Roy* uncover'd, he said unto him with great Assurance and Gravity, *Be covered, Count de Lemnos*: Which oblig'd this Minister to ask him, *By what Authority he took on him this Boldness?* To which he answer'd, *That this Authority was born with him, and that he feigned not to know him; and yet he ought to remember that King Philip his Uncle, had sent him twice to him, and that the Sword which he then wore by his Side, was that which he then gave him.*

The Sentence which the *Vice-Roy* gave of him, was, That he was an *Impostor*, who deserv'd to be sent to the Gallies, and should not be long from them; and wherein, 'tis said, he died some time after,

Yet the *Portugueses* have been persuaded he was their real King, and do still continue of that Opinion, there being nothing which is able to make them change it. Some Persons in the World will have him to be a *Magician*; others an *Impostor*, and the most ignorant will have him to be a *Devil*, or really the King himself.

This is not the first Example of the Boldness of an *Impostor*; *Rome* saw heretofore a Man that had the Audaciousness to publish he was the real *Pempey*, who was kill'd in *Egypt*, by the Cruelty of the young *Ptolemy*. The Queen *Artemisa* found one *Artemius*, who had so great a Resemblance with *Antiochus* her Husband, whom she had caused to be murther'd, that he was not known when he put himself into the Bed of the dead King, pretending to be this Prince sick; he recommended *Artemisa* to his Subjects, and did several Things in Favour of this Princess. Under the Reign of *Tiberius*, there was not Occasion to be surpriz'd at the bold Answer which a Slave made to this Emperor: Who questioning him, *How he made himself Agrippa*, answer'd without Hesitation, *In the same Manner thou hast made thyself Cæsar.*

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The *Dox Sebastian* I mention, has not been the only one in the World ; there have been two others ; one of which departing out of the Isle of *Terceres*, who had great Resemblance with this Prince, went into *Portugal* where he said he had miraculously escaped from the Battle he lost in *Africk*, that he sav'd himself in Woods, and returned into his Kingdom, to give Peace to his People, and deliver them from the Tyranny of Strangers : But having been convicted of Imposture, he was put to Death.

'Tis said, that another being come disguised in the Habit of a Pilgrim, to *Madrid* itself, and having had a long and secret Conference with King *Philip II* (by whom it is suspected he was known for his unhappy Prince) was by this King's Order, said to be poison'd in a Banquet given him by *Antonio Peres*.

I shall write several Things to the invincible *Vizir*, of which I deferr'd to give him Notice, because I would be certain of them, they being of Importance ; and it would have been great Lightness in me to have written them on the first Reports spread amongst the People.

Receive always with the same Goodness, the Marks I give thee of my Obedience ; send me thy Orders and Counsels, which, I pray him that has created all Things, may be good and profitable to the Empire of those precious Ones, which he has enlighten'd with his Truth ; to the End they may arrive at the eternal Glory and Pleasures promised us from his Part, by his *Holy Prophet* ; and I also pray him to preserve thy Life and Authority.

Paris, 24th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

To the Venerable Mufti, Prince of the Religion of the Turks.

THIS not known whether it be the Recompence of a good or bad Action, which Cardinal Richlieu has sent with so great Secresy. Those that give an ill Interpretation to the best Things, say it is not to be supposed there could be sent in a dark Night, a Mute laden with Gold to an unknown Person, but this must denote something very extraordinary; and those who pretend to know more than others, are sometimes more ignorant than those who pretend to know nothing. For who can penetrate into what so crafty a Minister does in the most retired Places of his Closet? His Actions are so mysterious, that when he looks towards the East, his Designs lie a direct contrary Way. He deceives those who watch him most narrowly. I cannot inform thee then of any thing certain: The Matter is variously related; but thus I think it was: The Cardinal caused, some Days past, to be loaded on a Mule a great Sum of Money; he order'd him, to whom he entrusted the Conduct of him, to go into a Wood at such an Hour, telling him he should find a Man of such a Stature, such a colour'd Hair, and in such a Habit, who was to say certain Words to him; whereupon he was to deliver the Mule with his Lading into his Custody. It is said this Person found the Party described, who would not receive the Present, it being not the full Sum agreed upon; that this being related to the Cardinal, he sent the same Person with the Supplement of what was wanting to the Sum he promised, the Night following, where the unknown Person received the full Payment. If this Story be true, as 'tis affirmed here to be, this is an odd kind of way of making Presents, or paying Debts.

But

But thou must be assured, this is not the first Time the Cardinal has paid his Creditors, in this sort.

I have been told for certain, that there being arriv'd at *Paris* a Stranger ill clad, of small Stature, and without any Attendance, he made him be paid down immediately upon his Arrival six hundred thousand Crowns, without any body's knowing what became of so happy a Creditor, nor from what Merit proceeded so high a Recompence; tho' some People affirm, That so great a Sum is fallen into the Coffers of the *Swedish* General.

Receive charitably the Marks I give thee of my Obedience, and Desire which I have of giving thee Satisfaction; and intreat our *Great Prophet*, that I may be worthy in the other World to kiss thy Feet, and be acknowledged to be of the Number of those for whom he has written his holy *Alcoran*.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XXIV.

To Berber Mustapha, Aga at Constantinople.

I Cannot tell whether thou hast Knowledge of the Use of Desiances which are made amongst the *Christians* when they are dissatisfied or offended with one another, which they term Acts of Honour, or the Marks of a gallant Spirit.

This Custom of Duels is become so common in *Italy*, and especially in the Kingdom of *Naples*, that the greatest Affairs, as well as the smallest are therein decided by the Sword; and the Gentry affirm this to be the best Way of terminating their Disputes and Quarrels; which belonging only to them, cannot be referred, nor so well determin'd by the grave and cool Proceedings of Courts of Justice.

This

This Invention of deciding these Differences by Arms, either with the Sword or Pistol alone, in a close or open Field, naked in their Shirts, so that one has no Treachery to fear, is a Way of drawing Satisfaction for the Injuries received, found out by Men of great Courage who more esteem their Honour than their Lives. The offended Person sends a Challenge to him from whom he has received the Injury; this Note of Defiance is express'd in choice and elegant Words which invite and press the Offender to fight, in such a Place, on Horseback or on Foot, Cloathed, or in their Shirts, single, or attended by an equal Number of Friends, which they call Seconds, with Sword and Dagger, or Sword alone, or Pistol. If the Challenge be received, he is civilly treated who brings it, and it may be, has rich Presents given him. But before they fight, the Enemies embrace as if they were reconciled; and then in an Instant following the Inclination of their Hatred and Revenge, they wound one another, they spill each other's Blood, and oftentimes their Souls go out furious, through the Wounds they have made.

Those that have the Honour of dying in these Combats do oft refuse their Lives, which a generous Enemy would give them, believing they cannot live without Shame, should they receive them from an Enemy.

But the *Roman* Church, as a Note of the Horror she conceives at these Combats, shuts Heav'n's Doors against the Souls of those who leave this Life without doing Pennance, denying Burial to those who die in the Field of Battle; or, yield them only that which is granted in some Parts of the *East-Indies*, to certain Women, who prostitute themselves, whose Corps are thrown a Prey to the Birds of the Field, and other Animals, who live on Carrion.

It is not only in *Italy* People kill one another in single Combats; 'tis the same in *France*, amongst the *Nobility*, who manage these Combats in a different Sort. The best Friends tear one another on the smallest Occasion, and they prepare for a Duel in such a Manner, as will appear to thee without doubt ridiculous.

These

These Enemies sup together the Night before the Combat, and often lie together in the same Bed. The Friends which serve as Seconds, do the same; and when they are come to the Place where they be to fight, a Friend is forced by the Maxims of Honour, to cut his own Throat with the Man's he perhaps most loves: Nothing happens more frequently in *Paris*, than this kind of Combats; and they produce several Adventures, of which I would give thee an Account, had not I a particular Story to tell thee on this Subject. It is of a Challenge of a *Spanish* Prince, sent to a King, whose Crown could not exempt him from a Letter of Defiance.

Thou hast, without doubt, heard of what has happen'd in *Lisbon*, where *Don John de Braganza* has been elected and proclaimed King of *Portugal*, as the true Heir of the Royal Race. Thou knowest also, he drove the *Spaniards* out of his Kingdom. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and this new King's Brother-in-law, could not hinder him from being suspected, of having under-hand assisted this Prince to ascend the Throne; whether it be true, or an Artifice of his Enemies, *God* only knows: But however, 'tis certain, that the Count Duke d' *Olivarez*, the King of *Spain's* chief Minister, sent an Order to him to appear at Court, to justify himself from this Suspicion; he thought to clear himself perfectly from the Jealousies of the *Catholic* King, by sending a Challenge to *Don John* of *Braganza* to oblige him to fight with him; which Letter of Defiance was conceived in these Terms.

D. Gaspar Alonso Peres Gusman the Good, Duke of the Town of *Medina Sidonia*, Marquis, Count, and Lord of the Town of *St. Lucar of Barameda*, Captain General of the Ocean, and Gentleman of his *Catholic Majesty's* Chamber. I say, that *John* of *Braganza*, who was never but a Duke, calls himself King of *Portugal*; that his Treason known to all the World, is detestable, and in Abomination, for having thrown a Stain on the faithful House of *Gusman*, which has never failed in any Duty to her Sovereign; and for this Reason I defy and challenge to a single Combat, Body to Body, with Seconds or without Seconds,
this

this Don John, heretofore Duke of Braganza, leaving all this to his Choice, as also the Arms or Weapons, and Place of Combat. Written near Valencia d' Alcantara, where I shall expect fourscore Days News of him; and the last twenty Days, I shall transport my self into the Place he shall appoint, accompanied, or alone, with such Arms as he shall prescribe.

Not only the Tyrant of Portugal shall be advertised of my Challenge, but all Europe, and the whole World. I pretend to make known in this Combat, the infamous Action of Don John; and in Case he does not accept of this Defiance, and fails in the Duty of one who is born a Gentleman, I desire this King, who is only a Phantasm, may perish in some sort or other: I promise to give my Town of St. Lucar, the principal Seat of the Duke of Medina, to him that shall kill him.

In the mean time, I entreat my Lord, the King of Spain, to give me no Command in his Armies, but to grant, I may only serve him as a Volunteer, with a thousand Horse, which I will maintain at my own Charge, till that serving him in this Manner, I may help to recover the Kingdom of Portugal, and may bring along with me, and cast at his Majesty's Feet, the Duke of Braganza, if he will not fight with me in the Manner I proposed.

If thou shewest this Letter of Defiance to the Janizaries, that Militia which is terrible to all Nations, whom nothing can resist, when they execute the Grand Signior's Orders, they will tell thee what such a Challenge requires from Men of Courage, and explain to thee the Laws which People of Valour prescribe to themselves: For my part who am ignorant of the Art of War, and the Maxims of such as make Profession of Arms, I shall not make any Judgment hereupon; only take the Liberty to ask of thee, if the King of Portugal accepted the Combat and killed the Duke of Medina, which of the two would have been declared infamous? Whether there be any Certainty in the Decisions made by Arms? I am willing to think, Justice is on the Side of the Conqueror: But if on the contrary, the Event of the Duel be uncertain, I take

it to be a foolish Thing for the Duke to expose himself and thus affront the King his Brother-in-Law. In short the Duke's Prudence is not to be admired on this Occasion, and *Braganza* has had the Advantage on his Side, seeing he has shewed by his Conduct, that he is effectually King of *Portugal*.

I cannot but call those *Christian* Fools, who suffer such Customs amongst them, and yet adore a *Messias*, who is a *God of Peace*; and who call us *Barbarians*, when they are the only People that teach us, and all other Nations, the Art of single Combats, which is the most pernicious Custom that can be introduced amongst Men; who cut one another's Throats oftentimes on slight Occasions, and become Prodigals of that Treasure with which the *Immortal* has entrusted them. Neither can I any more approve of Kings and Prince of the same Belief making War with one another, as we see every Day amongst those who profess the *Christian* Religion; which yet, as far as I can find, scarcely permits any Wars, but such as are defensive.

Pardon this tedious Letter, excuse my Conjectures in it, and honour me with thy Commands, which will be respected by such as so many Obligations.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1642.

LETTER XXV.

To the invincible Vizir Azem, at Constantinople.

WE hear of nothing now-a-days but Wars and Conspiracies, Seditions, Treasons, Infidelities, and Revolutions of State, and it is in the Kingdoms of *Vice*, wherein these Plagues of Heaven make these Disorders, I mean, in the *Christian* Countries. *Infidelity* reigns among the People of *Catalonia*, *England* and *Portugal*; the Revolutions which have happened in *Barcelona* have no Example; the Defiance or the Challenge

lence of a Subject to a King, as is that of the Duke of *Sidonia* to the King of *Portugal*, as his Brother-in-Law, and his Enemy, does equally surprize all the World. We have reason to think, that God is angry with the *Christians*, when we consider *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and the Frontiers of *Spain*, pestered with Wars which they make one against another. The Animosity of most of the great People of *France* against the *Cardinal* Favourite, induces them to lay Plots against his Life; whence we may see, that great Places are good for nothing but to expose Men to great Dangers. The last Conspiracy discovered against the Life of *Don Juan IV.* of *Portugal*, raised to the Throne by the *Nobility*, and betrayed by the same *Nobility*; not by the whole Body of them, but by a small Number of those who had taken an Oath of Fidelity to him as well as the rest, does plainly shew, That there is nothing in this World whereon a Man may rely with any Certainty, and that here are many People who undertake just Actions, by the Motions of an unjust and turbulent Spirit, which cannot suffer Things to remain long in a quiet State, and aspire continually after Change, and to whom every Thing is good that is new. I shall relate to thee in few Words, this last Event: Thou hast been informed of the others by the Letters I have written to thee, (invincible *General* of the *Ottoman* Armies, and Steward of the Emperor's Laws, who is Sovereign of Sovereigns) and by those which the *Kaimachan* and the *Bassa's* have received from me, who are obliged to give thee an Account of whatever comes to their Knowledge.

Some of the Great Ones in *Portugal*, and amongst them, some of the new King's Kindred, hatch'd a Conspiracy against him, and resolv'd to put the Kingdom again into the *Spaniards* Hands, and entirely ruin the Family of *Braganza*. The principal Author of this Conspiracy was *Don Sebastian de Mattos*, Archbishop of *Brague*, the Count Duke d'*Olivarez's* Creature, to whom he owed his Fortune. The Chiefs who conspired with the seditious Priests, were the Marquis de *Ville Reale*, and
the

the Count *d' Armamar*. These two Men of great Birth and Credit, soon drew several others into their Party, some by the Hope of Recompences, and others through Weariness of obeying their new Sovereign, or weary with the new Form of State, which they thought might change to their Advantage. They long held a secret Intelligence with the *Catholick* King's Council, who promised them all possible Assistance for the Execution of their Design, and after that infinite Recompences.

This Conspiracy was to produce a dreadful Tragedy, wherein all the Blood of the *Royal House* and Family of *Braganza* was to be spilt. The King was to be the first Victim, with his Children, and the Queen his Wife. *D. Duarte* also was to be put to Death, who was kept close Prisoner in the Castle of *Milan*. A Domestick, affectionate to his Master, and who was attentive to what pass'd, delivered the King and Family of *Braganza* out of this Danger. He was ordinarily employ'd in secret Intrigues, and made frequent Courses into *Spain*, to discover the Designs of the Court of *Madrid*. He met by Chance in an Inn, a Man who seem'd of a mean Condition, born in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, with whom having entred into a strict Friendship, as it happens usually among Travellers, he came to discover he was often dispatch'd by the *Catholick* King's principal Minister, on Affairs of great Weight; and that he expected in a short Time to raise his Fortune to a considerable Pitch, being entrusted with Packets of Letters containing Things of the highest Importance to the State. The crafty *Portuguese* soon discerning he might get out Secrets of great Concernment from this imprudent Man, for the good of his Master, resolv'd to kill him in a desert Place, where they were to pass; which he did, having first made him drunk with strong Wine. As soon as he had done his Work, he stript him, and found Letters and Instructions to the Conspirators, which he speedily carried to *D. John*, who thereby discovered the whole Conspiracy.

Others say, that *D. Alphonso* of *Portugal*, Count de *Vermiffa* (having been solicited by the Archbishop of *Brague*)

Brague) who thought he could easily bring him into the Conspiracy (being discontented at the King for taking away from him a great Office) went to his Sovereign, and freely discover'd to him the Conspiracy which had been made, to deprive him both of his Crown and Life. And, 'tis added, that this *Count* appear'd since one of the hottest of the Accomplices, till the very Instant wherein they were to execute their Project; at which Time they were apprehended and punish'd as they deserved.

Others say, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the King's Brother-in Law, who appear'd to the Accomplices to be of the Plot, gave Notice of it to the King his Brother. In fine, the Conspirators were executed in several Places after different Manners, where the People assembled, detesting their Crime, shewing great Satisfaction in their Deaths, and blest Heaven for preserving their Sovereign.

They were apprehended one Day, wherein the King declared he would appear in publick; and all the Nobility being met, he caused the Guilty to be call'd one after another, who were all made Prisoners without any Disturbance. In the mean Time, as many Troops as were near *Lisbon* were in Arms; and the People also took Arms to defend their Prince, if need required. The *Inquisitor General* was treated as guilty, for knowing of the Conspiracy, and not discovering it. The *Great Treasurer*, *Lawrence Pides*, who kept the Keys of the first Court of the Palace, was to enter in the Night with an hundred Men well armed, and begin the Tragedy. The Naval Army which rode at Anchor in the Port of *Belém*, was to be burnt; and there were them in each Vessel, who were to set them on Fire. The Four Corners of the City were also to be fired, to the End, that the People, the Soldiers and Guards of the Palace, being busied in putting it out, nothing might hinder the Execution of their Design; and the good *Archbishop* was in the mean time to appear in Publick, bearing about in his Hand what they call the *Holy Sacrament*, crying with a loud Voice, *Let the Law of Jesus flourish, and that of Moses die and come to an End.*

The

The Marquis *de Ville Reale*, and the Duke *de Camine* his Son, near of Kin to the King, have lost their Heads on a Scaffold, with the Count *d' Armamar*, and Don *Augustin Manuel*; and the People beheld their Death without any Compassion, only shewed some Regret at the Loss of the young Duke of *Camine*, who passing before the Body of his Father all bloody, threw himself on the Ground to kiss his Feet; asking him a thousand Times Pardon, though he was the Author of this Misfortune. There were others who suffered a more ignominious Death, who were not only hang'd, but quarter'd, and those Parts of their Bodies set up in several Places for an Example, and to put the People in Mind, that such Attempts seldom escape unpunished.

As to the *Archbishop of Brague*, and other *Ecclesiasticks* his Accomplices, they are kept with great Care in Prisons, in Expectation of Commissioners from *Rome*, without which *Prelate's* Consent they can do nothing farther to them. The King wore Mourning four Hours for the Marquis *de Ville Reale*, and the Duke *de Camine* his Son; according to the Custom of the *Christians*, who are wont to apparel themselves in Black for the Death of their Kindred, to denote the Sorrow they conceive at their Loss; and this Ceremony is term'd *Mourning*, which sometimes lasts a whole Year. I will write to thee the Particulars of what may happen in the War which is now carrying on between the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*, who perceive already on the Frontiers *Castilian* Troops; and I shall not be wanting in any Thing which may mark my Zeal and Exactness.

An happy Slave will *Mahmut* think himself, if he can acceptably serve the *Invincible Vizir*, by whom the Great *Emperor of the Faithful* discovers his Will to all the People of the Universe, whom *God* has created to obey him.

Paris, 25th of the 6th Moon,
of the Year 1642.



The End of the First VOLUME.